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THE
HEALING OF THE NATIONS

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THE HEALING OF THE NATIONS

*Studies in some International Aspects
of Social Problems*

BY

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PREFACE

MORE people are employed in Great Britain to-day than at any previous period in the country's history. Unfortunately, the number of unemployed is also greater than it has been in any past period of depression. The explanation is to be found in the fact that our population is steadily increasing. Meanwhile, as the demand increases for new regions to which the European peoples may migrate, the hospitable door of the United States begins to close a little. No one who is in touch with the situation in America will deny that America has acted wisely in restricting immigration, but the results of this policy are world-wide.

The situation in Great Britain is in a way parallel to the situation in Japan. The problem of finding an outlet for a growing population is, however, much more acute in the East, and, while Great Britain can still send many emigrants annually, Japan finds the door completely closed. It is evident that action along these lines has a very distinct bearing on the question of world-peace.

British manufacturers found the rubber industry far from profitable and they devised a scheme of restricted exports, by means of which their profits were greatly increased and the price of rubber was at least trebled. American purchasers were seriously

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affected and the newspapers spoke of Great Britain being able to make her debt payments to America from the profits which thus arose. The rubber manufacturers acted perfectly legally, but it is clear that such restriction tends to augment international misunderstanding.

Judged by standards at present operative, such actions cannot be seriously criticised for every country regards itself as the best judge of what is in its own interests. Consequently, the first truth to emphasise is that such actions, while seemingly advantageous, are in the long run disastrous. An attempt is made to illustrate this truth, from a survey of various fields of industry and commerce. Apart from questions of international morality, the country which pursues a policy determined by selfish interests is paving the way to disaster.

There is another aspect from which these questions may be viewed. While it is impossible to apply Christian principles in such a way that a country can find out at once, without hesitation, which policy is the most Christian, there certainly is a Christian attitude on these issues. Even if this attitude is not likely to be the most profitable there are many in all countries who are eager that, regardless of consequences, it should be adopted. It seems, further, to be fairly evident that in general the methods which are dictated by the highest principles are those which are likely to have the most satisfactory result from the economic standpoint as well. An endeavour is here made to suggest how Christian principles may be applied in the realm of international politics.

PREFACE

I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Rev. J. W. Parkes, B.A., who has relieved me of a great deal of the work involved in preparing the material for the press, and whose many suggestions, based on an intimate knowledge of international affairs, have been of the utmost value. During a visit to the United States in the summer of 1925, I was able to revise some of my opinions in the light of information provided by a number of American friends, and my thanks are due to Dr Albert Shaw, editor of *The American Review of Reviews*, Dr Sidney L. Gulick, Rev. Linley Gordon and others, who, of course, are in no way responsible for any views expressed here.

I owe much to the valued help and guidance of Rev. Hugh Martin, M.A., and to my brother, Rev. Robert F. Chisholm, B.D., now of Cluj-Kolozsvár, who corrected the proofs and prepared the Index.

A. C.

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I

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR IN POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

THE factors behind international strife are much more often economic than political. The political aspects of the 1914 situation were by no means the most important. The clash of economic interests in Europe, in the East and elsewhere, and the fear that the Mediterranean was about to become a British lake, had quite as much to do with the conflict as the actual strife between Austria and Serbia. If we are to guard against strife we must not hesitate to be perfectly frank in these matters. Our economic interests clash with the economic interests of other European countries ; further, the interests of the white peoples are openly at variance with the interests of the Eastern world. In the old days, there was but one way of settling these differences—by the rude arbitrament of war—but we can only dispense with this costly weapon if we substitute another method of securing the interests of the various peoples and of allowing for their development. In other words, we must allow the international mind to operate. The various countries must learn that the best interests of all are secured by a policy in which co-operation rather than competition is the dominating conception.

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All the great nations of the world are already interdependent, for none are completely self-supporting. As soon as this fact and its implications are realised it will be possible, as never before, to make a real advance in the cause of social amelioration. Although science has already accomplished much, the greatest contribution of the past decade is not to be found in anything which has yet been achieved, but in that which is now brought within the scope of human attainment. This growing interdependence has created the most effective weapon by means of which the human race can, if it so wills, break down all the barriers which have retarded progress. With the nations brought so closely together, with the power which scientific discovery has placed in man's hands, there seems little which he cannot achieve, but the all-important question is whether he is prepared to use his new-found power for the purpose of improving the lot of humanity by conscious united effort, or whether the several units are still to be regarded as engaged in a contest in which each lives for himself and considers others only in so far as they affect his interests. If man uses his power for selfish ends, the story of the white peoples will be a somewhat doleful one and many a metropolis will become a necropolis. Strong nations will lose their strength and will be destroyed by internal strife and external attack. On the other hand, if these powers are brought under the control of a spirit which is consciously endeavouring to realise a definitely Christian ideal, days better by far than those in which we live may be ushered in at no very distant date.

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It is essential that we should be guided by some conscious purpose. Like Sir Thomas More, we must cherish a vision of a better day. The veiled criticism to be found in his *Utopia* portrays the times in which he lived—the grinding poverty of the poor and the luxurious idleness of the rich. In a day when men seemed to have little ambition apart from the pursuit of wealth, and when none responded to any stimuli except such as were gold-tipped, he pictured an ideal state in which gold would be worn only by slaves. Others, too, have outlined the features of a better day—from Plato, with his endeavours to curb the intemperate craving after wealth, to William Morris, who maintained that joy in beautiful works is the only motive which should hold men together. Some have described in detail their conception of the conditions under which men will live when the ideal is realised. In 1637, Campanella, the Calabrian monk, outlined a community working four hours per day and being ruled by a “chief metaphysician and his assistants.” Cabet, in his *Voyage en Icarie*, dreamt of a state with neither property nor money, buying nor selling. Another Utopia is outlined in the Book of Revelation. A banished Christian, probably working long hours in the salt mines under the lash of the slave-masters of Patmos, looked up from his weary lot and envisaged a new heaven and a new earth. We are apt to regard the Book of Revelation as a picture of conditions in the world to come. Many of the references doubtless refer to the reward which awaits the faithful who endure but at the same time the book has its own clear teaching regarding

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this world. The holy city comes down from God out of heaven on to earth and the nations enrich the city with their wealth. By the side of a river is the tree whose leaves are for “the healing of the nations.” We require such a vision to guide us in our efforts.

Not only must economic conditions be changed ; the insincerity and duplicity of modern life must be removed. Truth between man and man and between nation and nation is required. “There shall in no wise enter into it anything that maketh a lie” (Rev. xxi. 27). The abuses of our social and industrial system need to be uprooted because of their effect on personality. The conditions which cut off the lives of millions of children at the very beginning, the evils which make men taste of death when they have hardly tasted of life, must be overcome. The average expectation of a London child in 1841 was 35 years of life. In 1900 it had reached 40.98 years.¹ In India the figure for 1911 was 22.59 years. There can be no place for these destructive factors in the city towards which we travel, in which “God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.”

The dream is not to be realised by the advance of one country alone. Great Britain must not, even if she could, erect her Utopia alongside a desolate Europe or Asia. The nations must work together for the City of God. “The Kings of the earth do bring their glory and their honour into it.”

¹ From 1911-1914 the infant mortality rate for London as a whole was 108 per thousand. But in West Ham it was 115, and in Shoreditch 148, while in Hampstead it was only 75.

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There can only be one lasting foundation for such a city. It can rise only on the foundation of Christian principle and can be supported only by those who have caught the clear accents of Jesus of Nazareth. "The wall of the city had twelve foundations and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb" (Rev. xxi. 14).

As we turn from our ideal to survey actual conditions, we must not despair. If the road seems long and wearying, that is no excuse for not setting out at all, but it is all the more reason why we should not delay but start at once.

"We seek the City of God and the haunt where beauty dwells,
But we find the noisy mart and the sound of burial bells.
Never the golden city where radiant people meet
But the dolorous town where mourners are going about
the street.
Friends and loves we have none, nor wealth nor blest
abode,
But hope for the City of God at the other end of the
road."¹

The end in view cannot be at once attained and it is futile to outline the whole journey by which humanity must march to its goal. The most that can be seen at any time, in any detail, is the next step to be taken. But it is wise to remember that, unless we know the goal, we are not likely to find a clear principle to guide us when we are wondering in which direction to take the next step.

Some hints of the state of affairs for which we must labour have been already given. The founda-

¹ John Masefield, *The Seekers*.

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tion of any abiding city must be laid on the principles which the prophets and apostles maintained. The stern demands of justice and rectitude were never more necessary than to-day. We tend to rule our lives by compromise. We determine all kinds of questions on the grounds of immediate expediency, and condemn, as impractical, considerations of equity. Then we discover that what was expedient at one time soon becomes inexpedient, because changed conditions have resulted. Stability will be secured only when there is a determined effort to yield to every just claim—to recognise every right by securing the performance of every necessary duty.

So long as nations believe that their own interests must conflict with those of their neighbours, it will be most difficult to see where justice lies, for, believing that, they are bound to set their own interests first, and to disregard other claims; they will regard as just only that which is of immediate profit to themselves. Many nations strive for wrong ends, while convinced in their own minds that they are making entirely just and reasonable demands. Consequently, an organisation is required in which all the nations will trust, and which will be able to speak in the name of all countries with a voice of such wisdom and authority that individual nations will be ready to acquiesce in its decisions, knowing that it is in no sense controlled by aims other than the highest. When the difficulties which perplex Japan and America are regarded purely as national questions, then much bitterness results. Why should one country consider carefully the demands of a competing nation? The whole field of controversy

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will require to be raised to a higher standard. Countries will have to face their problems afresh in the light of the highest interests of all nations, and concessions which would not have been granted to meet the demands of one power may have to be made because the interest of humanity (and so, ultimately, of each nation), expressing its thought through its authoritative organisation, has given utterance to the demand.

It will need conscious and sustained effort for mankind to realise its common unity. Our differences are very real. Some are born in affluence and others seem to have no place at the banquet of life ; some are the heirs of centuries of civilisation and others belong to races which have just begun their march in the pathway of progress ; some belong to peoples who have successfully staked out their claims to great stretches of territory and others live in a land which belongs to an alien power ; some have attained a certain standard of living while others with a lower standard are prepared to sell their labour (and see no reason why they should not) at a rate which may rob the former of their employment. What point of agreement exists, uniting people of all classes and races ? This only—that all possess one common humanity. The breath of God has come upon all of us. In spite of differences of colour and of opportunity, each carries within him that which can secure its true development only when it finds God. We may not have much reason to respect the national prejudices with which we find our neighbours so completely absorbed, but wherever we find man, under whatever condi-

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tions, there is within him that which must command our reverence. He is a child of God. Consequently, our difficulties can be surmounted only in so far as we rule our lives by these principles, seeking with courage the divine will, and going forward fearlessly in the light of the truth granted to us.

In the midst of economic and political problems we must never forget the ideal, and, conversely, that ideal is powerless until it is interpreted in the terms of the international and interracial problems of the present day. Can we mitigate the bitterness involved in the strife for economic advantage in which the several nations are engaged ? Can we create a better understanding between the coloured peoples and the white peoples as they survey each other suspiciously over a gulf of misunderstanding ? Can we ameliorate the conditions of industrial workers all the world over ? Can we save our coloured brethren who are still in slavery; or can we help to free them from the insidious evils which are sapping their lives ? We may not achieve all this in our generation, but we can take steps towards this goal.

No effective work can be done so long as the shadow of war hangs over the nations. The amount spent on armaments in Europe in the past decade could have financed the most daring schemes of social reform which man can contemplate. Consequently, one of the first necessities is to reduce the possibilities of misunderstanding and conflict among the nations.

We shall be wrong if we content ourselves with trying to abolish war. War exists not because nations like it, but because they believe that their

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interests are mutually in conflict, and that when a dispute arises there is no other way of settling it. Causes of dispute are not due to the wickedness of merchants or politicians. They are inherent in the nature of the world, with its unequal distribution of riches, whether of raw material, of power or of climate, and its varying density of population. When, however, statesmen with wrong ideas try to adjust these inequalities, thinking in terms of their own nation only, and using its political power for economic advantage, misunderstanding, conflict and war arise. Much of the present international disquiet arises from factors of an economic rather than a political nature.

To consider all our modern problems is impossible, but it has been thought wise to take two which are of the first importance. The Far Eastern question is chosen because it contains so many aspects in one field ; the oil question because it underlies and unites in one purpose actions—apparently separate—all over the world.

The conflict of interests in the Far East is fundamentally an economic one. The West desires to open the markets of China ; Japan requires from China raw materials for her industries, which she cannot obtain sufficiently cheaply by competition in Western markets, and room for her expanding population. But questions of race and of politics have been from the very first obscuring the issue. Japan saw that the West obtained concessions in China by the force of superior military power. Japan, as a ‘coloured’ race, and with no military power to pit against European nations, would never

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be considered. She would have no "prestige" until she had proved her equality with the West by their own standards—a strong army and navy. These, by an amazing effort, she created in the second half of last century. She secured her position in the Russo-Japanese war, where, for the first time in modern history, an independent 'coloured' nation defeated one of the greatest white nations.

Japan, 5000 miles from America and 10,000 from Europe, is practically impregnable. She possesses a fleet sufficiently formidable to encounter any other navy, for the attacking navy would need to be three times the size of the defender, in order to guard its base and its communications.¹ But to maintain this position she needs wealth and man-power. Wealth comes from industry; man-power needs room for expansion. The population of Japan is much too congested, and she lacks raw materials. She is poor in coal and has hardly any oil. This means dependence on other powers, for she could not fight a war by herself. Hence her anxiety for alliance with Great Britain, and the envious eyes which she casts on China, with her wealth of raw materials and her vast area.

If this development had been decided on fifty years ago, Japan would have acted as Western nations had done under similar circumstances and it would not have been regarded as an affront to the moral conscience of the world. There would have been a threat in order to secure new territory and diplomats would have tried to avert war by suitable

¹ G. A. Ballard, *The Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan*, p. 29.

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concessions. The question of justice or of abstract right would not have been considered, for Japan is strong enough to enforce her demands.

It was with this conception of international relations that Japan made the famous '21 demands' on China in 1917, by which she secured the complete surrender and even the extension of the German rights in Shantung. This was confirmed to her at Versailles. What she required was economically reasonable and not incompatible with the interests of China, but her methods of securing it were political and in the traditions of European diplomacy. She "rattled her sabre." This does not necessarily mean that she desires military glory or delights in war. Though the party in power at the time was the militaristic party, and they had secured a majority in the Chamber, this implies nothing so far as the Japanese people are concerned; for the Government, which can control the elections, is itself controlled by the War Office, and, in any case, out of 57,000,000 inhabitants only 3,000,000 are electors. But Japan had serious economic needs and she knew no other way of securing them.

In the '21 demands' and similar claims Japan secured, by the use of political prestige and military force, all the rights enjoyed by Germany in Shantung, extensive privileges in the control of railways, including the main artery from Peking to the south, full control of many existing or proposed lines in the north-east, where the territory was politically either Chinese or Russian, and a predominating share in the exploiting of mines of various minerals in the same territories.

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These successes seemed to create great possibilities. Marquis Okuma declared that thereby Japan was given the one opportunity for 10,000 years. On the other hand they were regarded by China as administering a *coup de grâce* to her independence and integrity—a more vigorous assault on her sovereignty than the Austrian Ultimatum to Serbia in 1914.

A change was soon witnessed in the Japanese attitude. Chinese students, enraged by the humiliation of their country, organised a boycott of Japanese goods, which was supported by the merchants to such an extent that Japanese trade in China was threatened with ruin. Consequently, Japan went to the Washington Conference in 1921 in a somewhat chastened frame of mind, and there discovered that the policy of threats had—on the surface at least—become unfashionable. Friendship and confidence were in the air, and Japan concluded a treaty with China to settle all outstanding questions relative to Shantung. She withdrew all her political pretensions, while still retaining extensive economic privileges. If she abides honestly by this agreement, China will profit by the use of Japanese capital, and Japan will gain raw materials and an outlet for her industries. A similar reasonableness has characterised her more recent relations with Russia.

To many minds, the chief urgency of the Eastern question arises solely from the fact that Japan is in a position to substantiate some of her claims by force. This, however, should not be the prevailing thought. There must be a determined effort to give place to the legitimate needs of all countries, whether they are strong or weak as military powers.

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Only in so far as it can be shown, in future, that a nation's claims are considered irrespective of military strength, will it be possible for economic issues to be faced on a basis of openness and justice. For it is only when politics are excluded that the real facts can be ascertained, and the fundamental truth realised that it is possible for both sides to profit by a business agreement in which they are honestly trying to co-operate, and that, conversely, when a side seeks its own advantage only, in the end it does itself more harm than good.

This seems to be the position with regard to China to-day. Because she is a 'coloured' nation; because her standards of civilisation differ from those of the West; because, especially, she lacks naval and military power, her interests have generally been ignored. At present she is only beginning the process by which she may one day become great, if she so wills it, according to the standard by which the West judges greatness—military power.

With her railways, though she has only 6500 miles, when she requires 100,000, and with her foreign trade, though as yet it amounts to only six silver dollars per annum per head of the population, she has immense possibilities, which are seriously restricted as a result of the limitation under which she pursues her policies. It is recognised that an immediate problem awaits us in the endeavour to deal with the aspirations of Japan, but these claims must not be met in such a way that later, in order to secure her due, China will require to engage in war to protect her own interests. Her condition is far from enviable. Many nations have entered her

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territory in the pursuit of their own commercial advantage and have taken part in her dismemberment, including Japan, in 1894 and at other times ; Great Britain, in 1840, 1856 and 1897 ; Portugal in 1849 ; Russia in 1860 ; and France in 1883 and 1897. As a result, if China wishes to raise or lower the duty on a single imported article, she must receive the consent of thirteen nations. In addition to this lack of control over fiscal matters, she cannot negotiate foreign loans nor grant concessions to foreigners without the permission of other powers ; nor can she control her own inland waterways, or cede or lease her own territory. She has within her country armies belonging to four foreign powers. Foreign courts function in her cities and foreign gun-boats patrol her rivers. China can only be expected to remain quiescent under these conditions so long as she is unable to make any protest. It is inevitable that she should develop ; and a fruitful source of international strife is to be found in the undesirable condition in which this great country finds herself.

It is the history of eighty years of European relationships, and not the Bolshevik propaganda of a few months, which lies behind the troubles, at the ports and elsewhere, which broke out during the summer of 1925. Wise dealing is needed, for repression and punishment can provide no solution. Two real changes are required, the gradual restoration to China of complete internal sovereignty so far as foreign concessions are concerned ; and the prevention of the continual use of political power for economic ends, by which the

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concession-owners tend to embitter their relations, not only with China but with each other.

America set the example when, on 3rd July 1900, Secretary of State Hay issued to the Powers a circular urging the preservation of the territorial integrity and administrative entity of China, and declared the necessity of the "open door" and equal trading rights for all nations in China. This policy does not prevent China from controlling imports and exports, if she will, by a tariff. It could be carried through whether there was a tariff barrier or not; but it demands that a tariff should fall equally on all concerned and that no preference should be given to any country or to any group of interests. Such a policy was introduced in the Congo Basin by the General Act of the Berlin Congress of 1885. Serious limitations were, however, imposed as a result of the declaration by the Congo Free State that "all vacant lands were its property" and the principles of the agreement were departed from. Consequently, failure resulted because limitations had been introduced which made it quite impossible to apply the principles of this policy. Given a fair trial the policy of the open door is not only likely to solve the problem of China's relationships with other nations, but is capable of being much more widely applied.

Even as the disposal of the raw materials of China cannot be regarded as a problem for China alone, so there is need for an international policy regarding the world's supplies of other materials. The economic conflict in connection with oil is one of the most absorbing stories of our times. A few

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years ago Great Britain had little control of oil, but, owing to the assiduous enterprise of Sir Marcus Samuel, Lord Curzon, Lord Cowdray and others, no country at present possesses greater oil control than she. In response to an American note of 20th November 1920, which protested against American exclusion from Mesopotamia and claimed equality for all nations, Lord Curzon said that the American demand was unreasonable, for the United States' soil produced 70 per cent. of the oil in the world. Even if this statement were accurate, what about the possible future produce? It has been estimated that Great Britain controls 90 per cent. of the future world production.¹ Further, owing to the co-operation of Sir Henry Deterding and others, the Mexican Eagle, the Shell and the Royal Dutch Companies are under British control, and this results in an immense British holding of oil in the American continent. Even the Ottoman American Development Company, which has rights in oil in Erzerum, Bitlis and Van, is largely under Canadian control: it has been stated that Canadians have a dominating influence. In accordance with the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, Great Britain and France came to an agreement regarding Eastern policies. This was slightly modified in 1918, when the French conceded Mosul to the British in return for the recognition by Great Britain of the French sphere of influence in Syria. This recognition was given although France has little claim to Syria, which was conquered by British troops. When this matter was considered at the Versailles Conference,

¹ Pierre L'Espagnol, *World-struggle for Oil*, p. 117.

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France claimed that, in conceding Mosul, she had been made to understand that Great Britain would give her a certain share in the oil resources of that territory, while British representatives declared that no such promise had been made. This clash of interests certainly had its indirect effect in widening the breach between France and Great Britain.

It would also be impossible to judge our policy relating to Palestine, without regarding the financial and economic issues involved. The *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Express* and other papers strongly urged Britain to refuse all further responsibility in connection with the Palestine mandate. This concentrated protest had a certain popularity when the watchword was economy. But we were not in Palestine simply to establish a Jewish home. Nor was Lord Curzon stating the whole truth when he said that we could not leave Mosul because of our pledges to the Arabs. There are political reasons for maintaining our hegemony over the Arabs between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean. They are important in the light of India and her connection with Great Britain and British Africa both by sea and air.

Quite as important as these factors are the economic advantages involved. To relinquish our sphere of influence over Palestine would seriously impede the plans at present contemplated, by means of which oil may be transported from refineries at Abadan by railway and pipe across the Syrian Desert to Haifa, on the Mediterranean coast, a scheme which would enable warships to secure Mesopotamian oil without leaving the Mediterranean. Sir Philip

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Gibbs overestimated this aspect in his statement that the Mesopotamian exploit was simply a political manœuvre for the purpose of "boosting up the oil sharks," but the oil factor is an important one and has a considerable effect on our policy in the East.

Just as the struggle for oil has created difficulties between Britain and France, Turkey, Russia and the United States, so it has affected policy and caused difficulties between the United States and Mexico, Russia and Japan and various European countries. Oil is likely to become increasingly important, not only for shipping but for other purposes.

As there is at present no world shortage, however, there is no inherent reason why the question of oil should embitter the political relations of governments. Oil magnates are not necessarily more aggressive than others, but it is because it is easy to represent the national possession of oil as a matter of vital importance that they are able to affect national policies. As long as nations find it vital to their interests in time of peace and essential to their safety in time of war to have control over oil, so long will they resent and strive to counter the action of any country which endeavours to secure an undue monopoly.

There are, indeed, possibilities of international misunderstanding in connection with the control by any country of any commodity for which there is an international demand. For example, when the British rubber industry began to wane, a scheme was entered upon—known as the Stevenson Plan—by

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which the export of rubber was restricted. It was felt that only by such limitation of output could the price of rubber be raised to a point which would make production profitable. A tax was imposed, which increased as the price of rubber went down and vice versa. After this plan had been operative for a certain period, the available supplies of rubber, in London and elsewhere, were greatly diminished, and in a short time the price had doubled. There are constant complaints in America over this restriction, as the United States is largely dependent on British supplies. It is not easy, however, to discover how far the present shortage of rubber is due to the operation of the Stevenson Plan and how far it is due to a shortage of rubber-trees. The percentage which may be exported under the Stevenson Plan rose, from 65 to 75 on 1st August 1925, and if prices remain about the present figure it will rise to 85 on 1st November and 95 on 1st February. It is likely that, having served the immediate purpose of checking the excessive export of rubber, the tax will be repealed. "If the British producers still insist upon pursuing a policy of restriction under existing conditions, they undoubtedly will furnish another demonstration of the well-established truth that artificial methods of price-control inevitably react disastrously if an attempt is made to raise prices unduly above cost of production."¹

Great Britain has also secured wide control over supplies of tin, thus arousing considerable ill-feeling. It has, however, been generally recognised that in this matter she has only been acting in accordance

¹ *National City Bank of New York, August Letter*, p. 134.

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with current practice. Similarly, America found herself forced to purchase Chilean copper-mines, as she would otherwise have been entirely dependent upon the goodwill of Chile for her supplies of certain grades of copper. While the British Empire is well equipped in some other directions, we are deficient in antimony, chromium and copper.

The solution of these and of the many other pressing problems of to-day is not beyond the powers of the human race. The League of Nations exists for their solution and is the only instrument by means of which they can be adequately tackled. It is based on the principles enunciated in the beginning of this chapter—that these problems can only be solved internationally, and that they can only be solved as the fear of war is eliminated. But the League of Nations is only an instrument, and an instrument cannot work without power and direction.

Since the time of Henry V, there have been at least twenty-eight outlines, presented in various countries, of possible schemes for a League of Nations. Men dreamt about them ; then they tried to reduce their dreams to paper, and sometimes they were able to embody them for a time in concrete politics ; but twenty-seven schemes have fallen away into the unknown and have joined the great army of forgotten things. We live in the era of the twenty-eighth scheme. Is number twenty-eight to have the fate of its predecessors ? The organisation is very complete ; a considerable amount of enthusiasm has been engendered in all countries ; a surprising amount has already been achieved by the League, but it would be altogether unwise to

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imagine that the League is now in such a secure position that its success can be taken for granted. There is urgent need for all who are prepared to think and to act internationally, and who really believe that the world is capable of responding to an ideal and of acting under the influence of principles which are not fundamentally selfish, to strive to create in all countries so strong a public opinion behind the League that it will be able to do efficiently the work for which it was called into being.

II

THE WORLD AS ONE MARKET

IN 1346, the first road-toll in this country was levied on carriages passing from St Giles to Temple Bar. From that time onwards, the turnpike system spread rapidly, the reason for its existence being the need to raise money to keep the roads in order. In other countries, in addition to a toll tax, very onerous customs-dues were levied on goods passing from one part of the country to the other. In the fourteenth century, goods passing from Lyons to Arles, a distance of 150 miles, had to pay at least thirteen different duties.¹ The idea behind these customs-duties was that the interests of the various districts were distinct, but it is now inconceivable that within any one country such impositions should be allowed. Instead of each district being regarded as an independent market, it is realised that the country forms one market. We require to advance to the idea that ultimately the whole world is one market.

The various countries are dependent on each other for food supplies. Owing to climatic conditions and other factors it is impossible for any modern country to live without adequate oppor-

¹ Forbonnais, *Récherches sur les Finances de la France*, I, p. 358.

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tunity for securing supplies of food and raw material from any other lands. It is said of Great Britain, that "the plains of North America and Russia are our cornfields; Chicago and Odessa our granaries; Canada and the Baltic are our timber-forests; Australasia contains our sheep-farms, and in Argentina and on the western prairies of North America are our herds of oxen; Peru sends her silver, and the gold of South Africa and Australia flows to London; the Hindus and the Chinese grow tea for us, and our coffee, sugar and spice plantations are in all the Indies; Spain and France are our vineyards, and the Mediterranean our fruit-garden; and our cotton grounds, which for long have occupied the Southern United States, are now being extended everywhere in the warm regions of the earth."¹

It is interesting in this connection to notice the difference between the amounts we buy from other countries and the amounts they purchase from us. The following countries, for example, bought from us in 1913 more than they sold to us:²

	<i>Bought from us</i>	£	<i>Sold to us</i>	£
	.		.	
Italy	14,610,057	.	•	7,423,234
Turkey	7,761,644	.	•	4,668,005
China	14,845,269	.	•	2,903,592
Japan	14,530,432	.	•	3,818,467
British India	70,273,145	.	•	36,118,225
Australia	24,470,452	.	•	26,087,331

¹ W. Stanley Jevons, *The Coal Question*, quoted in Harold Wright, *Population*, p. 191.

² J. M. Robertson, *Free Trade*, p. 143.

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On the other hand, certain countries buy much less from us than we buy from them. In 1913, we bought from Russia £38,000,000 worth of goods, nearly all food and raw materials, while Russia bought from us only £18,000,000 worth. Anything which affects the raw materials produced by one country, seriously affects other lands. Lancashire, for example, purchases most of her raw materials in the far West and exports to the far East. It is clear that in this case Lancashire is a connecting-link between the West and the East, and that any factor which is operative in the West may seriously affect prices and conditions in the East. If there is drought in Australia or if the crop in Argentina fails ; if there is failure of the monsoon in India or pest in South America, the resulting influence is very widespread.

When we examine international trade, we discover that the nations frequently persist in a policy which has been long abandoned in internal trade. Each country tends to regard itself as the unit and erects barriers, in its own supposed interests. For example, the free flow of labour is not permitted in many countries and free importation of goods is frequently forbidden. How far can such a policy be justified and how far is it inconsistent with the idea of the world as one market ? Frequently it can be shown that these barriers are useful in encouraging certain industries within the protected area, but on the whole they are a serious obstacle in the way of the fullest development of the world's resources. President Wilson, in his fourteen points, referred to the need for "equal economic rights for all peoples

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in all countries" and this certainly would be beneficial from the standpoint of world production. Unfortunately, the problem cannot be considered simply on its merits. An enormous number of factors have to be taken into account. Countries are differently situated. One can live only by foreign trade; another controls most of the necessities of life which she requires. Standards of living differ. One man can work at a much cheaper rate than another, because he is accustomed to cheaper food and a simpler life. It is apparent that many forces operate to prevent the realisation of the ideal of the world as one market. Three of the factors merit special attention—the influence of politics, the claims of industries dealing with national defence, and the special needs arising out of abnormal conditions.

The ease with which political misunderstanding can arise out of economic factors has already been discussed in the former chapter. The way in which politics can interfere with the normal course of economic development, and can destroy the reality of the world as one market, can be well seen in the results of the Peace Treaties.

While these endeavour to secure the political rights of many national minorities which were formerly subjected to serious tyranny, they have, in their very attempt to solve such questions, created artificial barriers which are bound to diminish the productive powers of Europe. It may be roughly stated that the peoples under the control of what they regard as an alien government amount to-day to about 17,000,000. The chief nationalities in-

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volved are Germans in Upper Silesia and elsewhere, Ruthenes (Ukrainians) in Galicia and Magyars in Transylvania. The principles laid down in the Peace Treaty outline a policy of dealing with racial minorities which should make it possible for such peoples to live under the new conditions without feeling that injustice is done to their religious aspirations. They must be safeguarded against any influences which tend to rob them of their national traditions or to suppress the legitimate development of their national instincts, for only thus can enduring peace be maintained.

At the same time, two facts must be realised. In the confused distribution of the races in Europe minorities are inevitable, and they have been reduced enormously by the new frontiers. Before the war there were at least 20,000,000 in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and 40,000,000 in the Russian, under foreign rule. Secondly, minorities, like all others, cannot live for themselves alone. Their prosperity is dependent on that of the countries in which they live, and they should be given an opportunity of taking part in all activities.

The economic unities into which Europe is divided were based principally on the old state divisions, and the new frontiers cut right across them in many parts of Europe. Alsace-Lorraine once formed an integral part of the western German industrial system, and Upper Silesia was a German economic unity. The whole of the Danube basin was united in a single railway system, concentrating on Vienna and, to a lesser degree, Budapest. Now, across all these areas frontiers have been drawn. In

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Upper Silesia power-centres are separated by a political frontier from the towns to which they supply power, and waterworks are cut off from their supplies ; the frontiers of Czecho-Slovakia cut off factories from the villages where their workmen live, and from the area whence they draw their raw materials. Vienna, once the centre of a great political and economic unity, is now left the capital of a tiny, half-mountainous state, hemmed in by tariffs on all her frontiers, and cut off from the trade on which her population of 2,000,000 depended.

What is to be done to restore, in all these politically-divided areas, the unity which the economic life of Europe requires ? Indirectly in Articles XI and XV, and directly in Article XIX, the Covenant of the League of Nations recognises that certain frontiers will have to be reconsidered in the future. The Protocol, in the form in which it was placed before the Assembly, suggested no substantial addition along these lines, but reiterated the demand that, however else frontiers might be altered, they should not be altered as a result of warlike measures. Probably, in the present inflamed state of opinion, action along these lines of frontier revision must be long delayed ; in this case it becomes more urgent than ever to break down economic barriers by means of commercial treaties.

Several such treaties are already in existence, but they tend, at present, rather to link together economically states which are allied politically, than to break down the barriers which separate political enemies. Economic treaties between political rivals tend to be reduced to the smallest possible terms ;

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and each side is tempted to work solely for its own advantage. But, as political passions are allayed, a real attempt should be made to make political frontiers between states of no greater economic significance than are the administrative boundaries of provinces within a single state. It was in this way that the German Empire was built up out of a mass of semi-independent states.

The second factor which interferes with freedom of trade is found in those industries which are connected with national defence. From the point of view of the world as a whole, the various countries should be encouraged to develop the industries for which they are best fitted, but when this is attempted difficulties at once emerge. In pre-war days it would have been quite easy for a country to have certain trades, necessary for defence in time of war, driven out of the country by foreign competition. If the world were free from the threat of war and if the supply of these commodities for peaceful purposes were always forthcoming, then there would be no need for special consideration of such industries, but it is quite reasonable to allow, so long as the world is subject to the threat of war, that they should receive some encouragement even if, from the point of view of maximum world productivity, such action may seem undesirable.

Thirdly, there are cases where abnormal conditions result in an undue advantage being given to one country over another. A country with a depreciated exchange can produce cheaper goods than another country with a normal currency. George Gothe, in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of 28th

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November 1920, declared that "the Versailles crime was now being avenged on Germany's conquerors by cheap German competition." He pointed out that if Great Britain tried to evade this result by an anti-dumping policy then Germany would send her goods to Central and South America, Spain, Italy and the Balkans and capture British markets there. At the same time, it must be recognised that even more important than cheap goods is the need for the workers to have money to buy these goods, and consequently, if the invasion of cheap commodities results in grave unemployment in the country to which the goods are sent, they cannot be sold. Moreover, from the standpoint of the country receiving the goods, there seems at first to be a perfectly legitimate place for restrictions, artificial as they may seem, to safeguard home industries. The difficulty is to discover a method of providing such security. It seems practically impossible to discover one which will be free from injurious results.

The recent industrial progress in Germany is largely artificial, owing to exchange abnormalities. Pig-iron production, which was estimated at 19,810,000 tons in 1913 and fell to about 5,230,000 tons in 1919, became 8,750,000 tons in 1924. The potash industry has shown a notable advance. The All-German Potash Syndicate, which in 1913 produced 1,110,300 tons of pure potash had an output in 1922 of 2,000,000 tons. A similar story of advance is to be found on examining the returns of the Pottery Association, the trade in electric carbon-thread lamps, in incandescent gas-lamps and other

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industries. But this increased activity has been accompanied by a low standard of living among the workers. The falling exchange reduced wages to a very low level. At best, their purchasing power was very low, so that saving was found to be impossible. Taxation weighed on the workers very heavily. One realised, on visiting Berlin in the summer of 1924, that it could not well be increased. Wherever one turned one met the demand of the tax-collector. A small slip on the table when one sat down to a meal was found to be the official form for the tax the proprietor had to pay on all meals served. A turnover tax fell on commodities at all stages of their manufacture and sale, so that the article which was on sale in a shop window had probably been taxed at least four times before it was purchased. While married men with families were less heavily taxed, the unmarried workman found that 10 per cent. of his weekly salary was deducted. The workmen, through their strong Trade Unions, had secured a wage adequate, though no more than adequate, in relation to the cost of living, but there was very real hardship in the relatively small number of homes in which unemployment prevailed and among the many workpeople whose claims were not represented by Trade Unions. It is not owing to the considerable lowering of the standard of living so much as to depreciated currency that Germany has proved so strong a competitor in recent years.

Great Britain tried to guard against the unemployment which was resulting from this competition by the Safeguarding of Industries Act, which was

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intended to safeguard employment against the "effects of the depreciation of foreign currencies."¹ It allowed for a duty of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. if the goods were dumped, in addition to any tax which might be already chargeable, and as well as this there was the 20 per cent. duty under the Reparation Act in the case of Germany. But with the depreciated exchanges, duties of 400 per cent. to 500 per cent. would really have been required to be effective against some countries. It was illogical to impose a flat rate of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. for all countries, for rates of exchange differed from country to country, and from month to month.

It was soon seen that such legislation could not become operative without injuring other interests. Further, artificial support of one group is likely to injure others. A Memorial was presented to Parliament by the representatives of firms engaged in steel rolling, pointing out the effects of a duty of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. placed on semi-raw steel. The Memorial stated that "semi-raw steel is the life-blood of the British re-rolling industry, without which they could not compete successfully with other countries in the world's markets for the more highly-finished products in which the British re-rollers have specialised."² The steel manufacturer in this country might be able, as a result of these duties, to employ more men, but the prices of the re-rolled steel would of necessity rise, and consequently we would not be able to compete abroad. The probable increase in employment among those

¹ *Safeguarding of Industries Act*, 125, p. 1.

² *Hansard*, 30th June 1921, p. 2380.

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engaged in the production of raw steel would be more than made up for by the probable diminution of employment among those engaged in re-rolling.

So it would seem to be throughout industry. The safeguarding of certain firms by preventing competition raises the price of materials, on which the industries of other firms are based. The unemployment resulting in other industries must be balanced against the additional employment created by such legislation. Thus there is no guarantee that such a tariff policy would be ultimately advantageous. In all probability the result in Germany would be a tendency to develop to the full those industries for which she could supply her own raw materials.

In spite of exceptions due to such special conditions as have already been indicated, the greatest benefits to the world as a whole will accrue as each country concentrates on the manufacture of those commodities for which she has the greatest aptitude. Japan, for example, will never become a great steel-producing country. She is too far removed from coalfields. But she is able to do ornamental work in cotton and produce silk goods much more cheaply than western countries because of the lower costs of labour; and when she removes the present handicaps on industry involved in the lack of transport facilities, in the absence of a permanent class of skilled labourers, and in the employment of men to do the work elsewhere done by horses, she will be able greatly to improve her production, and, where necessary, the conditions of labour, without any loss of external trade.

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As the world becomes increasingly one market there will inevitably be a reorganisation of trade and industry. A single country which has special aptitude or facilities for providing certain articles will tend to provide them for the whole world. Countries which cannot produce them so cheaply or so satisfactorily will turn their attention to the production of other goods.

In the end this reorganisation cannot be prevented. Industries in which this country had a strong position will pass into other hands. Though this may involve temporary unemployment in some districts, it is inevitable : and the distress will be less if matters are allowed to take their course and artificial barriers are not erected. Such barriers may, indeed, prove successful for a time, but in the long run, when they break down, there is far greater dislocation and unemployment than if no such policy had been followed.

If, as has been shown, such artificial restrictions are unable to protect or assist British trade even against the competition of another European power, they are hardly likely to be effective when Western goods are competing with the products of the East. By the application of the principle of the 'open door' to raw materials these will be available to the whole world ; and this will probably result in a change in the nature of the industries carried on in certain countries. There is yet another cause which will necessitate a very considerable reorientation of industry.

In order to utilise the raw materials available, sources of power are requisite. Much of Great Britain's pre-eminence has been due to her possessing

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large supplies of coal. We shall not possess this advantage for long, as electricity is in many cases supplanting coal, and countries which were formerly our customers are able to harness their mountain streams and rivers, and will, in the course of time, become possessed of a cheaper supply of industrial power than we can hope to have. Even as the possession of coal resources was a potent factor in development in former periods, so potential electric power will become an all-important factor in the future. This, by its very nature, is definitely associated with particular countries and cannot in any way be subject to international control.

Having considered the question of raw material and of power for the world market, the next consideration is the provision of man-power. This is, in fact, the most important aspect of the whole problem, especially from the Christian point of view, with its emphasis on personality. No lines of advance can be successful which do not aim at better conditions—spiritual as well as physical—for those engaged in industry. If industry were simple and if the world were divided into little groups of people working by themselves, then it would be impossible to have unemployment until an adequate amount of goods had been produced to make every one happy and comfortable. As matters are at present, there are frequent periods when multitudes are thrown out of work, and no question of internal politics is more serious than the question of unemployment.

While our modern industrial unrest has its roots in many causes, the influence which tells most

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strongly against a condition of stability is one which cannot be altogether eliminated—unemployment. It is easy to criticise Trade Unions and Labour leaders for their seeming tyranny and for the way in which they impose upon the workers burdens which appear very grievous. But in any criticism of these practices, we must remember the fear which dominates the worker, the fear that if he relaxes on such matters as overtime and longer hours he will be reducing the demand for labour. If a workman finds himself in a factory where overtime is demanded of him and he feels that he would like to work overtime, why should he not be allowed to do so? If a master feels that he can get his work done as well by employing fewer skilled workmen and a proportionately larger number of apprentices, why should he not be allowed to do so? It may be true that the argument of the union leader is open to question, but his chief answer to this contention is that longer hours of labour and greater dilution of labour mean that fewer skilled workmen are required and thus more are brought face to face with the spectre of unemployment.

The causes of unemployment are intricate and various. They fall into many different classes. Though some of these can be dealt with nationally, and others can only be solved by international action, in the end it is impossible for any country to retain or lose its prosperity without affecting all other countries. While there are regular cycles of trade depression, the problem of unemployment in seasonal trades is ever present. Some industries are regularly subjected to seasonal unemploy-

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ment. No matter what legislation we devise, we cannot spread the period of greatest activity in jam factories over the whole year, nor can we arrange that gas-works and collieries can be as busy in summer as in winter. If we take any one month in the year and examine the trades which are subject to fluctuations in the demand for the commodities produced, we shall find that every month is the slackest month in some trade or other and the busiest in some other trade or trades. If the total amount of labour demanded for these seasonal trades is taken into consideration, it will be found that the number engaged in any one month is practically the same as the number engaged over all the trades in any other month. As we are here concerned rather with the international aspect of unemployment, detailed consideration need not be given to the methods of rendering seasonal unemployment less acute, such as the employment in brick-works of many gas-workers when they are dismissed on the approach of summer.

Part of the difficulty in such trades and even more with 'casual labour' arises from the fact that there is inadequate organisation of those employed within the trade. A report on dock employment in New York, dated October 1911, illustrates the situation in many ports. Forty thousand men were available for employment, but on no one day were more than 20,000 engaged. This meant that twice as many men were to be found round the docks as were necessary. Many of them were of the type appealed to by the "dockers' romance" and unwilling to work steadily day after day, but there were others

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who would have been willing to work if they had been given the opportunity. Regular employment should be secured for the best of these men. It would probably be found that the minimum requirement in the docks would be about 13,000 men. These men should be regularly employed. Another 7000 men should be kept on a register as available for service when desired. Professor Webb suggests that for such men alternative work ought to be found near to the docks. The many left unemployed would, in the course of time, be absorbed, as a steadier wage would raise the standard of living and thus cause more employment.

Various factors make it extremely difficult to compare the figures relating to unemployment in one country with the figures which apply to another country. While the United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark and Norway confine their returns to unions paying unemployment benefit, Massachusetts, Australia, the Netherlands and Sweden include unions which do not pay unemployment benefit. Australia excludes all cases of unemployment for three days or less in a fixed week, while the Netherlands' statistics include persons unemployed for less than one whole day. Accordingly, while it is of importance to know that the percentage of unemployment at the end of December 1920 was 26 in Massachusetts and 15·8 in Sweden, 4·1 in Germany and 6·1 in the United Kingdom,¹ these figures, since they represent different conditions, cannot be adequately compared with each other. A comparison of the figures shows that, with some

¹ *International Labour Review*, January 1921, p. 116.

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exceptions, the percentage of unemployment mounted steadily towards the end of 1920.

	Percentage Unemployed. December.			
	1917	1918	1919	1920
United Kingdom .	0·6	0·8	2·4	6·1
Denmark . .	9·2	17·4	10·7	15·1
Sweden . .	3·9	4·4	5·5	15·8
Massachusetts . .	4·2	2·9	5·3	26·0

It is thus apparent that unemployment results from factors which have a world-wide significance. While every method should be employed internally to guard against the evils of the recurring cycle, it is impossible to deal adequately with this problem except on an international basis.

In the earlier part of 1921 the situation became acute in most countries. During the week ending 25th June, 1921, there were three million people receiving benefit in Great Britain under the Unemployment Insurance Act, of whom two million were wholly unemployed and one million were partly unemployed. This was greatly in excess of the unemployment predicted. When, in March 1921, the Minister of Labour prepared his measures to carry the country over the tide of depression between March and July, he estimated an average of only one million persons unemployed week by week.¹ The gravity of the period of depression was unforeseen by most; the coal strike and other factors intervened to accentuate the seriousness of a situation already sufficiently serious.

¹ *Hansard*, 28th June, p. 2015.

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The present period of depression came later than would normally have been anticipated. Its effects have been much greater than was predicted by those who were prepared, as a result of economic study, for a period of depression.

The figures for unemployment in Great Britain are at present approximately 8·3 per cent. In the period of depression of 1908 they reached 7·8 per cent., but the gravity of the situation was not so clearly realised as it is now, when large payments in unemployment benefits keep the figures before the public eye. The present unemployment figures would doubtless have been considerably reduced but for the perfectly legitimate action of the United States in establishing the principle of the quota, which, while safeguarding American interests, diminished the outlet by emigration for our unemployed.

It may naturally result that the subsequent period of prosperity may be longer than the normal period, but, in general, the result of an examination of industry during the last hundred years shows that the cycle of trade is of about eleven years' duration. After the time of depressed trade come three years of steady prosperity. Manufacturers become increasingly conscious of markets for their goods, and, in order to meet what is regarded as a growing market, there is frequently increase of plant and hurried production. Since there is no national or international source of information as to the amount being produced, there is a great tendency to over-production, and, after four years of excited trade and speculation, industry begins to show signs of depression.

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Closely akin to these trade cycles are the periods of depression which fall on trades, on both small and large scales, through the diminution of the demand for articles of a particular kind. Village blacksmiths become increasingly difficult to find in the country. The taste for cretonnes and plain curtains affects seriously the makers of lace. These are slight examples. A much greater one is to be seen to-day in the depression which hangs over the coal trade. The world's demand for coal is not elastic and is diminishing, so that if one nation increases its export trade it is only at the cost of another.

Conditions so diverse naturally need different solutions. There is no panacea, and immediate needs demand immediate relief, in the period before sound reconstruction can be set on foot. The two methods of immediate relief are State aid and industrial insurance.

Fortunately, as a result of insurance schemes, which were useful so far as they went, and of additional benefits provided by the Government, the worst evils of the current period of unemployment have, for the present, been dealt with. Mr S. G. Hobson has referred to the view current some time ago that there was "only a fortnight between the workman and the workhouse," but at present provision, none too generous but nevertheless adequate, is made for the man who is out of work. Yet the provision of such grants does not bring us nearer a solution of the serious problem at issue. By State grants one may give some measure of security against destitution, but not the real security against unemployment which the workman wants. Insurance

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schemes will, however, continue to be requisite, and it is hoped that better measures will be taken to provide schemes of insurance by the industries themselves.

The present system of unemployment insurance is only insurance in name, since at a very early stage the amount contributed had been exhausted and it was found necessary to give Government grants—popularly called “doles”; more accurately designated “uncovenanted benefits.” It should be possible to organise a scheme of insurance in future which will tide industry over the difficult days.

Another solution for the variation in the demand for labour lies in emigration. For example, work was found during 1923 by French employment exchanges for about 262,000 foreign workers who had entered France that year. There is at present a steady trend from the countries where there is unemployment to other countries where there is an effective demand for labour. So great is the stream that the countries concerned, such as the United States, have had to exercise the utmost care lest there should be an undue amount of immigration of the kind which they desire least. The American quotas for the year 1924-25 represented 66 areas and the total number of immigrants allowed was 164,567.

Emigration may be the only solution if a country has become unable to find work for the population—if, for reasons which she cannot control, her industries are unable to retain their markets; but it does not solve the whole problem, nor does it help to remove cyclical depression; for since this is

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world-wide, there is little chance of large inflows of emigrants finding more work in the new country than in the one they left.

At such times there is a natural resort to "relief work." Considerable use of this method has been made during the present depression. Direct employment has been provided through Government grants and otherwise for about 200,000 men who would otherwise have been workless during the winter of 1923-24. During that period, road schemes were in progress, entailing a total expenditure of £7,500,000 and providing work for 27,000 men. The Forestry Commission provided, by a grant of about £200,000, 60 per cent. of the labour costs for afforestation during the winters 1921-22 and 1922-23.¹ We have not, however, succeeded so well as the German Government in relief work of a productive nature. There are some interesting features in the *Produktive Erwerbslosenfürsorge*. In the first place, where a Government grant is given to an approved scheme the Federal Government generally provides three-sixths of the undertaking to the municipality, while the State concerned provides two-sixths and the municipality the remaining one-sixth. The work is usually placed in the hands of a private contractor, who is allowed to employ a certain percentage of key-men (*Stammarbeiter*) in positions of experience. Their number varies from 16 per cent. to 20 per cent. of the total employed. The remaining employees must be hired through the employment exchanges and if a man is discharged the employer must give reasons

¹ F. Morley, *Unemployment Relief in Great Britain*.

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to the exchange for his discharge and any man taken on in place of the discharged employee must be hired through the exchange.

What is required is regularisation of demand. Much more could be achieved. The governments and municipalities, taking into consideration the normality of an eleven years' cycle, could regularise their demands for labour so that undertakings which do not require to be entered upon at once might be postponed until a time when employment was on the wane. At present, government departments and municipalities make large annual purchases. Much of this demand is of such a nature that it could easily be left over to the less busy years. Such a method is suggested in the Washington recommendations :

"The General Conference recommends that each member of the International Labour Organisation co-ordinate the execution of all work undertaken under public authority, with a view to reserving such work, as far as practicable, for periods of unemployment and for districts most affected by it."

In the pursuit of a permanent solution of the problem of unemployment, the most immediate need is that information should be available, not only for the employees but also for the employers. It is very difficult for a man to find work for himself. He does not know where work is available. There are already labour exchanges, but to increase mobility of labour they require to become more efficient. In Germany, the work of administering unemployment benefit has wisely been kept out of the hands of the exchanges, so that they have been

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able to concentrate upon fulfilling their very necessary functions, but in this country, unfortunately, unemployment benefit has been administered from the exchanges, and when, of a staff of eight, only one, on an average, has been kept for the specific work for which the exchanges were set up, it is not to be wondered at that confidence in the exchanges has diminished. When trade improves, it will be necessary to reinstate these organisations and to equip them for the purposes for which they were originally established, for few things are more necessary, either in times of good trade or of bad trade, than an organisation which is able to discover the tendency of demand and to transfer labour from district to district.

What labour exchanges and the Ministry of Labour do for a single country, the International Labour Office, with its contact with all countries and all international industrial organisations and institutions, must do for the world. For it is only as conditions of labour are improved throughout the world, and as trade is organised on a world basis, that real national stability will be secured.

III

THE EFFECTS OF WESTERN PENETRATION ON EASTERN LIFE

IN many quarters expression is given to the opinion that the white races are pursuing a policy which is hostile to the interests of the peoples of Africa and the East. Many members of the latter races would subscribe to the sentiments of one of their representative poets, Claude Mackay, who urges his people to unswerving opposition.

“Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying—but fighting back.”

Western nations have often treated their colonies in a manner which deserves to be criticised. In many cases the land has been alienated to Europeans, leaving the natives with no territory they can call their own; in other cases quite illegitimate use has been made of forced native labour. Not infrequently onerous taxes have been imposed, the returns from which have not been used for the development of the territory on which they were levied. Systems of recruiting native labour have been in operation in certain parts, which have made the native more or less a slave during the period of the contract. Instead of the native intoxicants, though they were

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far from innocuous, commercial enterprise has substituted the much stronger and more injurious beverages of the Westerner. Many of these evils have now been removed.¹ Yet where abuses exist they are not only a source of conflict in the land in which they occur, but the story of them is used to foment revolt in all parts of the globe. In these days when the native press is so ready to use stories of injustice meted out to coloured peoples, every instance of unfair treatment is used for the purpose of fomenting antipathy to the white peoples. In 1900–22, of 1731 lynchings in the United States, 1552 were of coloured people. In 1885 there are records of 184 lynchings, but the proportion was different—the majority, 106, were white. The problems which face Great Britain in India and Africa, and America in her own territory and in her colonies, have their definite influence on the greater problem of the relations between the white peoples and other races of the world.

At the same time it must be recognised that, while all countries are closely interdependent and while a false step in one country affects adversely the condition of affairs in another country, there are some matters which are chiefly for internal settlement. Even as Great Britain claims the responsibility for working out her Indian problem, unaided by the advice of the League of Nations or any other Power, so America desires to be left alone in her attempt to solve her colour problem. Where, however, we have coloured immigrants entering the United States, then questions arise affecting

¹ Cf. *Labour's Magna Charta*, Chapter II.

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the relationship of their government and people with that of the United States, and in this connection there arises from time to time the necessity for international action.

It is not possible to balance accurately against each other the advantages and disadvantages which have accompanied Western penetration in the East ; but it is important, in the light of the harsh criticism which has been brought against the white people, to remember the helpful influences which have accompanied them.

The first beneficial result is the introduction of a religion which encourages social progress. Confucianism, with its emphasis on the rights of the common people, has been of great value in China, but it also acts as an influence which impedes any real progress. The same applies to Mohammedanism, with its teaching regarding the All-Merciful One. Hinduism has introduced a valuable element into the thought of the nations where it persists ; yet the Hindu believes, according to his theory of the transmigration of souls, that the outcast classes owe their present position to a decree of God, and that any endeavour to ameliorate social conditions by improving the status of the "untouchables" would be contrary to a divine decree. Effective social progress in all countries, in the West as in the East, depends on the degree to which those countries are prepared to accept Christian teaching. It does not handicap itself by an appeal to the past alone. It lays claim to the possession of a spirit which leads on into all truth. It does not claim to be final in the form in which it embodies

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itself in any generation. As Bouquet said : "Christianity is the one final religion because it is the only religion which is not final."

There are some who hold that it is not possible for all nations to develop an equally high standard of civilisation, and take it for granted that the mentality of the native African is naturally inferior to that of the European. But Dr Loram points out that, while natives of the present generation are unlikely to be able to advance as far as white people, they will not be found permanently inferior¹ if given equal facilities. Careful statistics compiled in certain schools in the United States showed that there was no category at the top which did not include coloured children as well as white, and none at the bottom which did not contain white as well as coloured. The average was higher for the whites, but the education was on lines suiting the white temperament. It is exceedingly difficult to say what will be the results when coloured races are given the possibility of development along their own lines.

In conversation, Principal Hill, who is at the head of the Chesney State College, Pennsylvania, an institution for the training of negro teachers, declared that he was unwilling to admit that the coloured races had any handicap which would make their intellectual development in any degree less likely than that of the white. He explained the results of tests carried out by Columbia University, in which it seemed that the white pupils were more forward than the coloured, not by any difference of

¹ *The Education of the South African Native*, p. 225.

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intellectual aptitude, but rather by the fact that the white children came from good homes where they were properly cared for and encouraged to learn, as could not be the case in many of the coloured homes. With the recognition of the principle of equal educational facilities for all races in America, the problem of race is likely to work itself out in a satisfactory way, although there is bound to be a good deal of failure and misunderstanding.

It is only during the present year (1925) that the British Government has established a College for higher education in Africa, at Achimota, in which the education, though given largely by English teachers, will be directed towards the development of the African along his own lines. There is a clamant need for further action in this direction.

In 1901 the percentage of general literacy in India was 5·3 and in 1911 it had not advanced beyond 5·9.

In India, as elsewhere, the work of missions has developed very considerably along educational lines during the present century. Colleges have been established, or extended, in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and many other cities. It has been proved that in the villages also there is a keen desire among a considerable proportion of the people for the best education which can be obtained, and a willingness to make sacrifices for this end, together with a patience and perseverance which gives every encouragement to those who teach. Natives are to be found in many places coming after a hard day's work to be taught to read and write. Women and

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girls take advantage of instruction in infant welfare, dressmaking and other subjects.

Unfortunately, sufficient education of University standard has not been available in India. Students seeking degrees in Law, Medicine and other faculties have been compelled to come to Europe; and even in India they have had to study in English and along Western lines. The need of India, while the mass of people remain illiterate, is for a sufficient number of Indian leaders and teachers who can develop, not a Western democracy but a real Indian culture and civilisation.

The need of the co-operation of East and West in reform is shown very clearly in connection with the traffic in slaves, and with the narcotic evil.

It took a very long time for a Christian conscience to develop with regard to slavery. First the Dutch and then the British found the traffic in Africans with America and the West Indies very profitable, and though there were no slaves in Europe, it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that any Christian conscience, except that of the Quakers, was aroused. In 1792, the King of Denmark took the lead in abolishing the trade, and legislation to this end was passed in England and America. But the holding of slaves was not abolished in British possessions until 1833, nor in the United States until 1862.

While both the trade in slaves and the holding of them have been abolished among the white peoples, such abuses still exist in many parts of Africa and the East. Though the lead for their abolition has been one of the contributions of the

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white races, its successful achievement can only come by co-operation between all. In the Hedjaz, when the Turks left the territory, slavery was re-established by law and slave caravans have recently been observed on the way to the Hedjaz. Colonel Amery, replying to a question asked in the House of Commons, stated that on 25th June 1921, and on 28th June of the same year, British ships had captured dhows sailing from the coast of Abyssinia. On board these ships were slaves who had been kidnapped, and were being shipped to Midi in the Idrisi territory on the Arabian coast, to be sold subsequently at Jeddah. It is true that the law of the land declared that slaves must not be openly exposed for sale, but this law was wilfully evaded, even in the region where Government control was most effective. Quite frequently large numbers of slaves have been given as a present from one owner to another, and, while there is no legal document of transfer, this is virtually nothing else than a trade in slaves. Figures relating to the prices at which these slaves were sold in such districts as Djimma and Addis Ababa show that generally a child of from 1 to 3 years was regarded as valueless. From 3 years to 10 the price varied from 17s. to 43s., while those from 10 years to 15 years were sold at prices varying from 43s. to 170s. Competent observers tell of having witnessed such transfers taking place quite openly.¹ Major Darley speaks of long tracts which have been devastated by the invader. For example, one caravan was met at sunset with two armed men in front and two in

¹ *Commission Papers, A 25 (a) 1924, vi, p. 4.*

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the rear. Between them there were 15 to 20 slaves who had been carried off from their homes. Two of the slaves were carrying casks of liquor. Other caravans were observed filled with men chained together. For various reasons the European Powers which, with America, had responsibility for Abyssinia, were unable to suppress the trade in and holding of slaves in that country, but the League has effectively intervened. By its admission of Abyssinia as a member we have a guarantee that the worst forms of slave-trading are likely to be abolished.

There is no reason why the trade in slaves should not be immediately abolished. The holding of slaves, as the Temporary Slavery Commission of the League discovered in 1924 in the answers sent to its inquiries, needs equally firm but more gradual treatment. Any change must be effected with care.

In Tanganyika Territory, for example, there was passed in 1922 the Involuntary Servitude Ordinance, which makes it illegal to detain any person against his will as a slave. Masters have not been compelled to emancipate their slaves; this would in many cases have resulted in vast numbers of the slaves being rendered workless and homeless, and it was asserted that it would also have made it temporarily impossible for the Arab and Swahili plantation owners to secure labour for their plantations.

The Government of Zanzibar reported that, when slavery was abolished in that region, the result was that many plantations fell into a state of neglect owing to the shortage of labour.

In August, 1925, the League's Slavery Commission

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held its second session in Geneva. The Commission has examined cases of exploitation of native labour where slavery in the technical sense does not hold, and has also made suggestions for the amelioration of conditions where domestic slavery persists. They report that slave-raiding still continues, particularly in Abyssinia, where the Government is not powerful enough to restrain the semi-independent chiefs. While the number of slaves transported across the Red Sea is small, a good deal of slave-trading takes place along the routes of pilgrimages. Further, the Government of the Hedjaz permits slave-markets within its territory, and officially recognises the buying and selling of slaves, by levying a tax on every transaction which takes place. If Great Britain, France, Italy and Egypt could unite in an endeavour to stamp out the slave-trade in Abyssinia, and if the powers of the League of Nations could be effectively employed to put down the abuse elsewhere, and to regulate the conditions of domestic slavery with a view to the final abolition of the system, a very important piece of humanitarian work would have been accomplished.

The narcotic question is one of the most serious problems that civilisation has to face—both in East and West. In almost every part of India, for instance, when the parents and older children go out to work, opium pills are inserted under the thumbs of the tiny children left at home, so that, by sucking them, they may be kept quiet during the absence of their elders. Dr Mistri informed the National Council of India that 90 per cent. of the children in Hindu families and 75 per cent. in Mohammedan

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families are dosed with opium almost from birth to the age of three or four at least. In the United States, too, the problem is very serious, though the Harrison Act of 1914 and the Jones Miller Act of 1922 have been instrumental in greatly reducing the legal import of narcotic drugs. Thirty years ago, the population of the United States was two-thirds of its present dimensions, but the quantity of narcotic drugs legally imported was more than four times the present amount. Yet, in spite of strict supervision, it is officially recognised that the quantity of such drugs illicitly smuggled into the country to-day is greater than the total amount legally allowed to enter. One has seen drug addicts in American prisons. Some of them come of their own accord. Having become slaves of the habit, they find themselves at last unable to secure money to purchase more drugs, and voluntarily approach a magistrate who gives an order for their committal to prison. There they are gradually weaned from the habit. During the first week or two a steadily diminishing amount of the drug is supplied to them, and after three months they are released from prison, too often, unfortunately, only to fall back into the old habits. As one listens to story after story of the tragic consequences of the drug habit and of the methods of the vendors, one feels inclined to agree with the prison official who declared that the only way to deal with those who illicitly sell these narcotics is by means of the electric chair. There is urgent need for international co-operation to free the world of the drug-menace.

Fortunately, the League of Nations is making a

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determined effort to deal with it. American public opinion is critical of the decisions reached by the Opium Commission, and many feel that more drastic action might have been taken. It must be remembered, however, that the recommendations of the American delegates could hardly have been put into force, whereas the decisions actually reached by the Commission are likely to be made effective. Factories for the production of opium are to be licensed and all employees registered. Records of the amounts produced are to be kept, and the various countries will allow export or import only after the certificate for such transaction has been approved by both the Governments concerned.

It is so easy to deplore the results of Western influence on the life of the East that it has been deemed wise to emphasise certain of the good aspects of the results of Western penetration. But, on the other hand, the influence of the West has not always been for good. Modern industry is a very effective minister to human well-being, but it extorts a great price in return for the advantages it confers. Sydney Dobell describes the lament of a farmer whose favourite son dies and who in despair feels inclined to give up everything. Referring to the arduous tasks of the farm, he writes :

“The leaves are open and spread,
But I see the teeth of the land.”

If the land has slain its thousands, industry has incapacitated its tens of thousands, but there is no reason why industry should exact so great a toll on life and health.

The period which followed the Industrial Revolu-

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tion was one of the most distressful through which our country has ever passed. Women and children toiled in the factories and in the mines under conditions which crushed all aspiration. Men became as soulless cogs in an unpitying machine. The tragedy and suffering of those days, however, was not unrelieved loss ; as a result men have been faced with the necessity of doing something by means of which humanity's lot may be ameliorated. But the fact that a social conscience has developed from the survey of the evil conditions of the past is no excuse for the continuance of these conditions. Otherwise we might be inclined to say that it is wisest to allow the Eastern nations to work out their own fate and to acquire a social conscience, learning by means of a ruthless social system which destroys life and disregards the rights of personality. This attitude is impossible. We now see what our country could have been saved if there had been a powerful ethical standard at work challenging the developing industrial system and demanding tolerable conditions and reasonable consideration of the individual in the name of humanity. There is no divine decree that men must learn by the pursuit of wrong aims.

In addition to the disadvantages arising from the impact of the West on the East, as outlined at the beginning of this chapter, we must consider the evils associated with the beginnings of an industrial system among the more backward peoples of the East.

One may illustrate the present situation from an examination of conditions in industrial India. In mining, transport and general industries about 18,000,000 workers are employed, a number almost

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equivalent to the total number employed in the United States and France, and their wages provide little opportunity for the maintenance of a reasonable standard of life.¹ The most highly-paid workers in the Bombay mills in 1918 averaged 16s. 6d. per week, while the doffers received only 4s. 2d.¹ Over 3000 working-class budgets for Bombay have been tabulated, and with an average household of 4·2 persons the average income was found to be 17s. 5d. per week.¹ In the light of these figures it is not difficult to understand why 97 per cent. of the population live in single rooms; nor is it to be wondered at that the average expectation of life for an Indian boy in 1911 was 22·59 years as against 46·04 in Great Britain.

If there were higher wages there would not necessarily be an increase in efficiency, because the workers have not yet come to desire a much higher standard of living, and the tendency would be for many to remain as at present but to work less hard or to work for a shorter period. While admitting that this factor has to be considered, it must be emphasised that the first essential to any progress in Indian social conditions is an increase in wages, by means of which an improved standard of life may be made possible.

Two points emerge here. The first is that the standard of living in the large cities is better than in the agricultural areas, where the reward for labour is very low, not owing to undue profits earned by those who employ agricultural labour, but owing to the inability of Indian agriculture, under present

¹ Pillai, *Economic Conditions in India*, pp. 204, 243 and 263.

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methods, to support the people adequately. Secondly, there is already in operation a movement to unite the industrial workers in trade unions, and an increase of wages is anticipated along these lines. Undoubtedly, higher remuneration than the present is possible. In 1918, 58 leading Bombay mills distributed in dividend an average rate of 44 per cent., and in many cases the percentage would have been greater if based on the original capital and not on the present capitalisation, which has been augmented through bonus distribution of shares. For the year 1920-21, 35 leading Bombay mills showed an average distribution of 59 per cent. There are, of course, instances of diminished prosperity in certain companies, as is evidenced in the case of the Tata ordinary iron and steel shares, which were quoted in 1921 at about half the price at which they were quoted in 1919, but in general there is little apprehension regarding the profits to be made in the factories and mills of India.

In Japan labour already possesses many unions. About thirty-five years ago Japanese workers began to organise. In 1921, there were approximately 100,000 workers within their organisations, while at the end of 1923 there were 125,000 workers organised in 420 trade unions. It was decided that delegates and advisers to the International Labour Conference should be appointed on the vote of the organised labour unions. This resulted in a great increase of membership, so that in one year the membership grew nearly as rapidly as it had grown in the whole of the previous 34 years. At the end of 1924 there were 234,000 workers in 500 unions. Excluding

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agricultural workers, the unions still include only one-twentieth of the wage-earners. In China there has also been very considerable advance, particularly in the South. North China is little organised, with the exception of the Peking-Moukden and Peking-Suiyuan Railways. The Yang-tse-Kiang Valley has 24 unions, with 40,000 members at Hupei. Of the 120,000 workers engaged in Shanghai, 80,000 are in unions. In South China the unions have already shown their strength. There are 200 unions at Hong Kong and 300 at Canton. From November 1921 to March 1922, a seamen's strike was organised at Hong Kong and pay was given to every striker, whether a member of the union or not. The result of the strike was an increase of wages and recognition of the unions. Attempts have been made to form a National Trades Union Congress. In May 1922, 200 unions, and 300,000 workers, were represented by 160 delegates. There are also attempts made to form a national union for the railwaymen of China. By such methods it is likely that industrial conditions in these countries will be improved. We must not, however, depend on the contest of employers' federations and trade unions to bring about the necessary improvement. If this is the only development in view, then years of woe are ahead of the Eastern peoples. The experience of the West should be at their service, and, as the Western peoples begin to apply Christian principles more faithfully, the East may similarly be guided by ideals which will effect great reforms, not simply because they can be enforced, but because to refuse them would be unjust.

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There are great stretches of territory in which no organisation of the workers has, as yet, begun and, as will be shown later, there is the utmost need in these territories for the wise and friendly guidance of the more advanced peoples. In Africa and the Pacific labour has been shamelessly exploited in the past by white employers, because it was powerless to resist. The worst forms of cruelty have, it is to be hoped, disappeared. But though slavery may have been abolished in white possessions the question of forced labour is becoming increasingly important. It is by no means easy to secure workers in certain districts. The relatively low standard of living can be easily attained. The worker does not want much money and he is satisfied with the reward of a short spell of labour. Often this argument has been used to support a policy of hiring natives for private enterprises at no wage, or next to no wage. But there are certain tasks requiring to be done, which are not of the nature of private enterprise. Roads have to be constructed and hospitals erected for the good of both natives and settlers ; yet there should be no prior assumption that in every case the only means of doing this work is by forced labour. Where free labour cannot be secured, some measure of compulsion may be requisite. There should be careful regulation of such labour and no permission should be granted to private employers to use forced labour for other than community purposes. In certain parts, taxes like the hut-tax are levied. These have to be paid in money. At first there seem to be many objections to such an impost, but since it demands a certain amount of work

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from the native in order to meet the demands of the collector, it has a certain justification on economic grounds. At the same time it must be frankly recognised that there is something wrong where any special methods are used to secure work. Forced labour should be regarded as a feature of Eastern civilisation which should be abolished as soon as conditions render it possible to do so.

While it is sufficiently difficult to deal justly with the various interests where white settlers and native peoples are concerned, the difficulty is greater where there are three interests, as in the case of the Crown Colony of Kenya, with its population of 10,000 Europeans, 20,000 Indians and more than 2½ million native Africans. Prior to 1923, the Indians had been given only one representative on the Government Council, as against eleven for Europeans, and an attempt had been made to segregate them entirely from the Europeans. The Delhi Assembly, on 27th February 1923, demanded that the equality of Indians and Europeans should be recognised. The decision which was reached in July 1923, dealing with such questions as the representation of Indians on the Council and the sites which they should be allocated, made certain changes. It was based on the doctrine that "the principle of trusteeship for the natives is unassailable." It increased the representation of Indians from one to five, and removed the restrictions which had aimed at segregating the Indians, the policy of segregation being applied now only to natives. While good areas were allotted for Indian settlement, the best area, known as the Highlands—the only

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area suitable for white settlers—was still reserved for Europeans. The Indians resent this. They had settled in the colony long before the British trader's influence became effective.

This is a quarrel not of right against wrong but of right against right, and there can be no solution of such an issue except by securing the judgment of some impartial court, such as the League of Nations might provide. It is probable that such a judgment might be regarded as hostile to the interests of the white settlers. In that case, while there would be much individual hardship, the white settlers would have either to accept the decision or to seek a more suitable settlement in some other colony.

Many lament the seeming impossibility of achieving any valuable purpose. Some in despair seem to await some Relief Expedition from Heaven, which in a mysterious way will set things right, but all of us must realise our common responsibility, and all must endeavour to bring in a better day. It is vital that, while the industrial system of the East is being fashioned, there should be a constant and determined attempt made to declare the Christian ideal. The future of these countries will depend on the extent to which Christians both in the East and the West succeed in making potent in industry the ideals which were so greatly neglected in our country in the days of the Industrial Revolution. *Laissez-faire* was a valuable policy for the early days of industrialism. "Hands off," manufacturers said, as they saw the Government threatening to strangle industry with legislation. Unfortunately, industry said *Laissez-faire* not only to the Government, but to God.

IV

THE EFFECTS OF EASTERN COMPETITION ON WESTERN STANDARDS

THE Western nations have attained a standard of living which is much higher than that which prevails in the East. This improvement has been made possible by means of the great increase in production resulting from industrial development. Progress in comparison with the seventeenth century is very noticeable. Thackeray pictured conditions in Europe in the time of George the First. Germany, France and Spain were all alike. "If you can see out of your palace windows beyond the trim-cut forest vistas, misery is lying outside; hunger is stalking about the bare village and listlessly following precarious husbandry, ploughing stony fields with starved cattle; or fearfully taking in scanty harvests. . . . Round all the royal splendour lies a nation enslaved and ruined; these are people robbed of their rights, communities laid waste; faith, justice, commerce, trampled upon and well-nigh destroyed."¹ There is acknowledgement on all sides that the situation is greatly improved from that of a century ago. The Industrial Revolution, while it brought many evils in its

¹ W. M. Thackeray, *The Four Georges*.

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train, has resulted in increased possibility of social well-being. In 1809 commodity prices were 175 per cent. higher than in 1902, while wages increased between 1809 and 1902 by at least 120 per cent. Roughly, a member of the community in 1902 received twice as much in wages as in 1809. As in addition each £1 went three times as far, he received six times as much income in goods. All members of society had accordingly benefited very considerably as a result of the improved organisation and productivity of industry. According to these figures, the improvement in the position of wage-earners was 500 per cent.¹ While this comparison may be objected to on the ground that 1809 prices were an aftermath of war, it must be remembered that new forms of wealth—watches, cycles, cheap books, and many other articles—had become available by 1902 for workers.

Even so, the condition in our large cities is still far from what it should be and we are naturally eager to discover how matters may be improved, but it is equally necessary to ask whether the standard, such as it is, can be maintained. Estimated in terms of their purchasing power, wages to-day are on the whole lower than before the war. It is not possible to form an exact estimate of the difference, for the system of computing the relation of prices to wages is imperfect.

But while they are not adequate, the Board of Trade figures afford a useful basis of comparison. At the end of February 1925, the cost of living was 79 per cent. above the pre-war cost of living.

¹ P. and A. Wallis, *Prices and Wages*, p. 439.

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The average rate of wages was 70 to 75 per cent. above the pre-war level, but, of course, this only applies to employed persons, who in general may be said to be able to maintain a standard just a little lower than that of pre-war days. The shipyard labourer has received an increase of about 68 per cent. and the engineering labourer about 72 per cent. This standard, since it is a minimum standard, cannot well be lowered. The skilled shipwright has received an increase of only 35 per cent. and the skilled engineman an increase of 45 per cent. While in certain branches of railway work and sheltered occupations the position is more favourable, the present reward for skilled labour is such as to discourage entrance upon apprenticeship.

There may be several reasons for this halt in the standard of living—the worker may not be getting a fair share of the profits; greater efficiency in production, both of raw material and in the factory, may be required, or the point of population may be reached beyond which certain territories cannot support mankind. It is not a simple question, for we cannot be satisfied merely with conserving the present standard of living. We must improve conditions among certain sections in the West, and we must strive to raise the present standards in the East. Can this be done, or is the world's supply of food and raw materials so restricted that it is impossible to accomplish much in the way of advance? Mr J. M. Keynes pictures European agriculture as subject to the Law of Diminishing Returns, so that further expenditure of labour will not secure the same reward as in the past. “The danger confront-

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ing us," he says, "is the rapid depression of the standard of life of the European populations to a point which will mean actual starvation for some (a point already reached in Russia and approximately reached in Austria)." There has been a great increase in population. European Russia has increased in population from one hundred million in 1890 to one hundred and fifty million. It has been estimated that if the population of the world were to increase at the same rate as during the years 1906 to 1911, it would double in 60 years. Can production keep pace with this? Further, can production do more than keep pace; can it at the same time provide for a higher standard for the less advanced peoples?

Much can yet be done in the way of improved production. The American engineer, whom Mr Douglas quotes to the effect that in 1919 the industrial efficiency of America was 5 per cent. and that 75 per cent. could be reasonably attainable, cannot have reached his figures in any scientific manner. On the other hand, in the Report of the Inquiry of the Industrial Fatigue Board prepared by Dr H. M. Vernon, we have an illuminating statement to the effect that if all the iron and steel works in this country adopted the most efficient methods they could, on an average, improve their output between 50 per cent. and 100 per cent. If prices were increased, great areas at present unused might be developed in such a way as greatly to increase the world's stores of raw materials. While our British coal supplies will last us at the present rate of consumption for about 600 years, we must not

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neglect other sources of power. Professor Soddy predicts the discovery of new supplies of energy "as much beyond that of fuel as the latter is beyond brute energy."¹ At the same time, other countries are in a much more fortunate position than we are. America can secure from her great water-supplies power equal to one quarter of her present consumption of coal, and besides this, she has coal to last her for more than twelve centuries. The coal of China has been largely untouched. The world's total coal supplies are adequate for more than three thousand years. So with other commodities. If the boll weevil, which destroys so much of the cotton crop, can be eliminated, and if labour can be found, great increases in the supply of cotton are to be expected. An enhanced price will result in the development of the cotton possibilities of such countries as India, Egypt and the Sudan. At present the price of wheat does not result in the cultivation of anything like all the land which might be utilised. In the first year of the war, when the need arose, the area of the world's surface devoted to the growing of wheat was increased by about 19,000,000 acres. Great increase of food supplies is possible if there is proper organisation, and while, unfortunately, an increase of price may be the first indication of the increased demand for food supplies, it is not likely that man will find it impossible to overcome this difficulty. Meantime, although no one can predict what the effect upon prices of food and raw materials may be, it is a clear duty of our civilisation to take steps to advance the lot of our

¹ Harold Wright, *Population*, p. 175 (92-2), p. 89.

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less fortunate fellow-men, and no one need restrict his efforts from a fear that Nature and Man will not be able to meet the demands made by great commonwealths in which multitudes of efficient workers labour for the common weal.

One naturally asks whether the standard might not also be improved if profits were lowered. The real profits of an industry are not discovered when one has found out the actual dividend paid to ordinary shareholders. One has also to ask how great a percentage of the present ordinary shares has been allocated to shareholders in the past years as bonus. The Final Report of the Trades Union Congress on the Cost of Living asserts¹ that capitalisation of the Cotton-Spinning Industry took place on such a large scale during the war that the total amount of share capital is to-day probably three times as much as it was in 1914. This would mean that if the pre-war level of dividends is to be maintained three times the pre-war profits will have to be made. The facts may or may not be as stated in the Report but, in order to allay suspicion, it would be advantageous if all information that could possibly be provided without injury to the industry concerned were given to responsible representatives of the Government. The Committee set up under the Profiteering Acts to discover the amounts of profits made, criticised, in its Reports, the British Wool Federation and representatives of dyeing, finishing, bleaching and printing trades, for unwillingness to give information on this subject.

As a result of recent investigation into the rela-

¹ p. 61.

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tionship between profits and wages,¹ it was found that 11 per cent. of the cost of production of the average commodity in Great Britain goes to salaries, 53 per cent. to wages and 34 per cent. to profits. On the other hand, there have been constantly recurring periods of trade depression, such as the present, when manufacturers have had to carry on their factories at a loss. One shipbuilder recently suggested that if the returns for shipbuilding over the last forty years were examined it would be found that the profits would not allow more than 2½ per cent. per annum on the amount invested. Such a statement we cannot investigate fully, but there is need to secure more accurate knowledge of the profits gained in order that a readjustment acceptable to all may be made.

If the employer suffers in bad times, the worker suffers more intensely. Undoubtedly, much depends on a better spirit in industry. The trade unions have done much to improve conditions, but their policy is often unwise. For example, while the opposition to payment by results is based on the idea that the workman will exhaust himself unduly and therefore do less efficient work, the result of this policy is often to encourage idleness. In many industries, there is an undue amount of restriction relating to the exact nature of the work in which the men of the various groups may or may not be employed, and the result is that the efficiency of industry is seriously impaired. The policy of limitation of output, while based on the fear of unemployment, is a serious handicap to industry.

¹ P. and A. Wallis, *Prices and Wages*, pp. 54-55.

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By improved efficiency on the part of employers and employees, by a greater share of the rewards of certain industries being transferred to wages, some improvement in the standard of living will be possible in the future, but under present trade conditions no real improvement can be expected. So far as future possibilities are concerned, the competition which will arise when Eastern peoples develop their industries must be taken into account.

At present, the East is not able to prove a very strong competitor, but future development may render the Eastern manufacturer able to produce finer qualities of goods than at present. For example, the Indian mills are unable to capture the markets now held by Lancashire mills. More than 75 per cent. of the goods produced by the Lancashire mills are of a quality to which the Indian mills cannot at present attain. Mr Austen Chamberlain, in his reply to the Lancashire Cotton Trade deputation in 1917, estimated the proportion of these goods to be as high as 98 per cent. of the total. It would seem that India, with millions of cheap labourers and closely linked with the home country, might easily be a serious competitor; instead, we find her asking for protection against the competition of British cotton manufacturers who pay much higher wages. Commodities of every kind have been admitted to Great Britain from foreign countries, free to compete with those of British production on equal terms. India, Japan, China and Turkey, all of them paying lower wages than Britain, have sent their goods to this country without any hindrance. In spite of this fact, British trade

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has not been seriously affected. At the same time the results of this competition are likely to be much more noticeable in future.

With the advent of Japan to a position of industrial importance and with the probability of China developing in the future in such a way that she will be able to compete successfully in the world's markets, the question of the effect these developments are having and are likely to have on the standard of living in the West becomes more acute. When the East develops fully, will not the great supplies of cheap labour and the introduction of machinery result in the loss of many markets and in the necessity of lowering our standard of living in order to compete with the cheap products from these countries?

While admitting that the standard of living in the East is very much lower than in the West, it must be remembered that what really matters is not the lower standard of living but rather the cost per unit of production. The workman in the East is satisfied with a meal of rice three times a day.¹ The Japanese shipwright in 1916 received an average wage of 2s. a day. Sixty sen (15d.) is a good average wage for a man, while 40 sen (10d.) is the wage of the average woman.² The wages paid in the East are low, yet the inefficiency of the worker may be such that the cost per unit is not lower than the price prevailing in the countries where more efficient labour warrants a higher wage. Mr Pillai suggests³ that the efficiency of the Western worker

¹ Hector Bywater, *Sea Power in the Pacific*.

² J. Ingram Bryan, *Japan from Within*, p. 416.

³ Pillai, *Economic Conditions in India*.

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is two and a half to three times that of the Madras operative. There are many facts to support this point of view. While it must be recognised that, in future, Eastern countries will become more efficient than in the past, it must also be remembered that the present low standards of life in Eastern industrial centres are likely to be improved rapidly as a result of the better organisation of labour unions, so that wages will also make a considerable increase.¹ It is impossible to predict the future course of events, but two lessons stand out clearly—the need for improved efficiency in the West and

¹ This question of competition between countries with divergent standards of living concerns Western peoples not only in their competition with Eastern peoples but in their competition with one another. In 1909 Professor Chapman investigated the cost of erecting spindles in the various countries. He found this cost to be 25s. per spindle in Great Britain, 35s. in France, 37s. in Germany and 50s. in the United States. In 1912, the Tait Tariff Board reported on cotton manufacture to the House of Representatives. An examination of the figures presented shows that the labour costs in this country were always less than those in the United States, frequently being as low as 78 per cent. The other costs were also proportionately low so that the total cost of production in this country was 65 to 75 per cent. lower.

The Report brought forward in September, 1925, at the Annual Conference of the British Labour Party in Liverpool, suggests methods of dealing with sweated goods imported from other countries. The Report defines as such "goods produced under conditions less favourable than those laid down by the Washington Hours Convention." This is not a very practicable suggestion, as many countries which have adopted other Conventions have not ratified the Eight-Hours-Day Convention, and a country may permit longer hours of labour than the Convention suggests without in any sense oppressing its workers. The principle, however, is sound, for most of the Conventions are statements of conditions which are essential if the interests of the worker are to be secured. The Report declares that "the International Labour Conventions provide the elements of an international code of labour conditions and the persistent refusal by a nation to adopt and carry into effect a Convention should be followed by the exclusion, by all signatory states, of goods produced under conditions less favourable than those laid down in the Convention."

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the need for development among Eastern peoples of conditions such as those for which the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations exists.

Another aspect of the problem presents itself when Eastern workers compete in the same country with Western workers. The United States could not have reached their present stage of development unless they had received a great influx of labour from other countries. While the growth of population between 1910 and 1920 was not so great as in earlier years, there has been a steady increase, and the total population, which was less than ten millions in 1820, amounted to almost 106 millions in 1920. America is now filling up and has introduced restrictions on immigration. The present Cabinet is wholly of British origin, but people of every race have found their way to the United States and it is necessary to watch the proportion of races carefully. In addition, labour organisations have demanded restriction, lest an excessive supply of labour from abroad should make it impossible for them to secure the advantages for which they are working. The 1917 literacy test restricted the number entering from Asia and Southern and Eastern Europe without restricting those from Western Europe. In 1921, a law was passed enacting that the number of aliens of any nationality to be admitted in any one year should be limited to 3 per cent. of the number of foreign-born persons of such nationality resident in the United States as shown in the census of 1910.

Under the Immigration Acts of 1924, the quota

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of immigrants for each country is, for the present, fixed at 2 per cent. of the number of its foreign-born nationals resident in the United States in 1890. After 1st July 1927, however, the annual quota for each country in any fiscal year is to be "a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in Continental United States in 1920, having that national origin, bears to the total number of inhabitants in Continental United States in 1920," but the minimum quota of any nationality is to be 100. According to the quota figures for the fiscal year 1924-25, Germany was allowed the largest number of immigrants, 51,227, Great Britain, with Northern Ireland, securing 34,007. When one adds to this the quota of 28,567 for the Irish Free State, and when one remembers that the quotas for British Dominions have to be taken into account, one realises that there is little likelihood of British interests being forgotten. Thirty-nine countries are given the minimum quota of 100 each. It is not surprising to find in this list Afghanistan, Bhutan, Greece, Iceland and Liechtenstein. It is perhaps not even surprising to find China; but Japan showed signs of great irritation when it was known that her quota was only 100. Japan is only at the beginning of her immigration policy, whereas for generations the United States has harboured immigrants from Western countries, and the quota decision is viewed as one aspect of the anti-Japanese movement in the United States. Japan resents being "placed among Turks, Russians, Tartars, Hottentots and Kaffirs."¹

¹ Hon. Ichiro Tokutomi, *Japanese-American Relations*, p. 154.

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Under the new arrangement, from 1927 onwards the Japanese quota will be increased to 146 per annum. A deeper source of grievance, however, yet remains. Americans or Europeans may enter from Japan, but the Act does not allow immigrants who are not eligible for American citizenship to enter the United States. As no Asiatics are thus eligible, much friction has resulted, and as long as this law remains in force any increased facilities granted to the Japanese or to any other Eastern race must remain a dead letter.

Various factors operate in creating an anti-Japanese attitude in America, the most important being the fear that an Asiatic population might overrun American territory. Alarmists compare the Japanese population in the United States in 1910 with that in 1920 and other years. The comparison indicates a very great increase; but these statistics are misleading, because at the earlier date many Japanese male settlers had come to settle without their wives or families and a great part of the increase of population results from the fact that these settlers have been able to send for their families. Other statistics are given comparing the number of children born in American families with the number born in Japanese families settled in America. These figures seem to indicate a greater increase in the families of the latter, but it must be remembered that the majority of the Japanese are between the ages of 18 and 45, while the American families considered in the statistics represent parents of all ages. The Bureau of Vital Statistics for California prepared figures comparing

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the size of the average family in California with the average Japanese family and it was found that, including parents and children, the white averaged 4·67 and the Japanese 4·63, indicating that, while large families are common in the East, they are not necessarily so common under new conditions. It has also to be remembered in compiling statistics that a very large number of Japanese settlers leave the United States every year, many of them desiring to die in their own country. The following figures illustrate this point :

	Japanese Arrivals.	Number of Japanese who left U.S.A.	Per cent. of those return- ing to those arriving.
1916	9,100	6,922	76
1917	9,159	6,581	72
1920	12,868	11,662	90

It certainly seems as if America could allow a certain number of Japanese nationals to enter without seriously augmenting her difficulties in connection with the colour question.

There is, in addition to the question of the purity of the race, the economic factor. In 1904, the American Federation of Labour adopted a resolution urging the permanent exclusion of Japanese from the United States. Asiatics have frequently been used for the purpose of strike-breaking. It is assumed that, owing to the relatively low standard of living, Japanese workmen in California will receive lower wages than the white workers. That, however, does not necessarily result. The Japanese Agricultural Association of California gives figures to

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show that the Japanese labourer in a certain district of California received wages during harvest time of 4 dollars with meals per day as against 3 dollars 50 cents given to the white labourer.¹ These figures do not, however, indicate the normal condition of affairs. A great deal of the Asiatic labour can be obtained more cheaply and the question is likely to grow increasingly acute.

The extreme anti-Japanese policy is clearly outlined in the programme of the Californian Japanese Exclusion League for 1919. The question is naturally acute in California, in which about 2 per cent. of the population is Japanese, whereas the percentage for United States as a whole is one-seventh of one per cent. An arrangement had been in existence since 1907 limiting the number of immigrants from Japan, which was known as the "Gentleman's Agreement." The Japanese Exclusion League proposed the cancelling of this arrangement and urged that Japanese immigrants should be rigorously excluded, while it demanded that the legislature should confirm a policy of debarring Asiatics from American citizenship. The League further proposed that Article XIV, Section 1, of the Federal Constitution should be amended so that no children of foreign parents would be regarded as American citizens unless both parents belonged to a race at present eligible for citizenship.

The *Japan Times and Mail* devoted the whole number of 20th June 1925, to the attitude of America to Japan. Mr V. S. McClatchey, the Secretary of the Californian Joint Immigration

¹ Iyenago and Sato, *Japan and the Californian Problem*.

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Committee, stated the position of the anti-Japanese organisation very frankly and declared that the exclusion of Asiatics was not urged on the ground of racial inferiority or race prejudice. He points out that the law which makes individuals of the yellow and brown races ineligible for citizenship has been in force for 134 years, and that Japan raises a similar barrier against the Chinese. Dr Sydney L. Gulick, Secretary of the National Committee on American-Japanese relations, writing in the same number, while urging that Japanese nationals should be included in the quota, urges the serious nature of the problem. He writes : " We feel ourselves facing an insoluble task in dealing with the negroes of our land. We wish to prevent at the very beginning still another race problem which would certainly develop were Asiatics to enter in considerable numbers."

On the other hand, Baron Kato, Premier of Japan, has stated that there is no occasion for other nations to fear an undue amount of Japanese immigration, as Japan has sufficient resources to last for a century—perhaps for two hundred years—within her own home and colonial territory. He has further declared that, as a people, the Japanese are unwilling to emigrate, instancing the cases of Formosa and Korea, where, in spite of every facility being offered, Japanese seem unwilling to settle, and that of Brazil, which has been asking for 30,000 Japanese immigrants annually but has not been able to secure them.

This statement, however, hardly seems to be an accurate interpretation of matters as they stand. The unwillingness of many Japanese to go to

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Formosa and Korea, where the standard of life is often lower than in the more congested areas, is easily explained. The inducements are inadequate. They will not sacrifice their present standard of living for a lower. On the other hand, they are quite eager to go to countries where better conditions are possible and they would, if unrestricted, settle in the United States in such numbers that the present difficulties would be increased. So long as Asiatic labour is used in agricultural operations and in the more unskilled tasks, the friction is not great, but, when they advance to more skilled operations, Asiatics are often able to undercut white labour, owing to their lower standard of life and their own willingness, and that of their children, to work long hours daily.

It would seem, however, that the United States could easily absorb 146 Asiatic immigrants from Japan annually, without making any appreciable difference to the situation, with the significant exception that Japan would no longer cherish resentment against America on the ground that there had been racial discrimination.

At the same time something more drastic will doubtless have to be done before Japan can satisfy her real need to secure access to other countries, owing to the demands of her ever increasing population.¹ While increase of population in itself is not necessarily a valid reason for granting increase of territory, when we recall the quality and skill of the Japanese worker and Japan's growing political power, we realise that Japan is merely making a demand similar to those which other countries

¹ See also pp. 105 ff.

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satisfied in the past through warlike measures. The population of Great Britain is 370 to the square mile ; Germany 319 ; France 191 ; America 31 and India 175. The population of Japan is 380 to the square mile, but a great part of Japanese territory is mountainous. Japan might bring into cultivation a very great stretch of territory hitherto untouched. Dr J. Ingram Bryan suggests that 8,000,000 more acres could be cultivated.¹ In 1918, the Japanese Legislature prepared a nine years' programme, by which money was to be given by the Government for the purpose of reclaiming 700,000 acres. With improved agricultural methods and an increase of territory under cultivation, it seems as though certain parts of Japan could support a much larger population. Nevertheless, the steady demand for economic opportunities on the part of the congested peoples of the East is one of the most difficult problems of our time.

¹ *Japan from Within.*

V

THE BROTHERHOOD OF EAST AND WEST

THE former chapters have gone to show how closely related the peoples of the various countries are. The world is one market. Great Britain draws her supplies from every part of the globe. Since we are all so closely related, the possibilities of misunderstanding are very considerable and, while there is general recognition that the principle of brotherhood ought to prevail in international affairs, it is very easy to forget such principles in the presence of the stern problems which emerge in the relationships between the various countries. The problems which arise and which require the application of this spirit can be divided generally into three groups: the government of less developed nations, the government of civilised states in the East, and the relations between independent states.

First, we must consider the question of the relationship between white peoples and those countries in which there has been least sign of industrial development. There are great areas in which there is as yet no adequate organisation of the workers to protect or to further their own interests. It will be a long time before the agricultural workers of India organise, and it will take even longer before

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any effective organisation is introduced into many parts of Africa. How can the Western races guide these peoples in their industrial and political development? When the Peace Conference came to consider the best method of dealing with territories which were formerly German, it was decided that these territories should be placed under the control of European Powers. In order to make it perfectly clear that this policy did not involve the actual transfer of German colonial possessions to other Powers, regulations were prepared, by means of which the controlling Governments were to be guided in their dealings with backward peoples. Article XXII of the Peace Treaty contains these words: "To those colonies which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust on civilisation, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant." Three forms of mandates have been created.

The A type of mandate includes Armenia, Arabia and non-Turkish portions of the former Ottoman Empire. The control of the Mandatory Power over these territories is relatively slight, since these peoples are recognised as independent nations. A greater control is recommended in the case of the C type of mandate. While these territories are not to be regarded as colonies of the mandatory, they are to be administered as an integral portion of the territory of the country which has accepted the

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mandate. In addition, there is an intermediate type of mandate. This B type applies only to Central Africa. It does not allow of independent government as in the case of the A mandates, nor does it permit any form of direct connection with the mandatory power as in the case of the C mandates. There are great stretches of territory which are still possessions of European Powers, and over whose administration the League of Nations does not exercise the control which it exercises over the mandated territories through the permanent Mandates Commission. It is altogether to be desired that not only in mandated areas but in all other areas as well an attempt should be made to fulfil the demands made by the Peace Treaty for an "open door"¹ policy and the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases, and all military training of the natives for other than police purposes and defence of territory.

It is not possible for the Mandatory Powers alone to improve the conditions in their mandated territories. It is only as the native inhabitants learn to co-operate that a real advance can be made. Meanwhile there are certain definite tasks which await the white rulers. Native industries need to be aided and guarded against the evils which have usually accompanied the beginning of industrialism. In particular the removal of men from their homes and wives, and from the influences and restraints of their village system, needs most careful supervision.

¹ See p. 27.

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The sale of their land to white capitalists has to be guarded against. Education along lines which will lead to a real spiritual and intellectual development needs to be initiated or increased ; and the health of the people needs safeguarding. In this last connection a German discovery promises most beneficial results on life in Africa and elsewhere. The Bayer Co. have discovered a white powder, soluble in water, which is able to kill the trypanosoma by means of which great stretches of Africa are rendered dangerous through the ravages of sleeping sickness. It is also claimed that this new medicine will cure malaria. At a meeting in Hamburg of the German Association of Tropical Medicine, one of the speakers said : “Bayer 205 is the key to tropical Africa and consequently the key to all the colonies. The German Government must therefore be required to safeguard this discovery for Germany. Its value is such that any privilege of a share in it granted to other nations must be made conditional upon the restoration to Germany of her colonial empire.”¹ This suggestion, made in such a manner, as a threat to the Mandatory Powers, is a futile one, but if this discovery achieves what it promises to perform, great possibilities are in store for Africa.

Tagore suggests that “mandate” is just a new word for “possession.” Mr Lansing cynically remarks that the Allies were determined that the German territories should not have their value computed as a payment towards reparations, and in order to avoid this, the word “mandate” was

¹ Slosson : *Chats on Science*, p. 190.

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invented, while in reality a valuable property was transferred from Germany to the Allied peoples. The only way to confute such allegations is to administer the territories referred to in such a way that the ideals laid down in the Treaty shall be fulfilled.

It cannot be denied that the Mandatory policy is capable of being misinterpreted, as witness Lansing and Tagore. When Australia assumed the mandate for New Guinea and sent a number of her own nationals to occupy the posts held by Germans, the newcomers were not able to guide matters with the same efficiency as before. There has been a good deal of talk concerning the military value of certain mandated territories. Japan, for example, thinks of the Yap territory mandated to her as a source of strength strategetically.

There have already been cases in which the Mandatory has been accused of misusing its power, but the firmness with which the League Commission has dealt with such complaints is a hopeful augury for the future. One glaring exception to the whole spirit of mandates, however, still remains — the permission given to France by the Allies, before the League came into existence, to raise troops for the French Army in her African mandates. Until such actions are prohibited, it will be difficult to confute some of the attacks on the Mandatory system. It would be an excellent promise of better racial relationships if European countries with Colonial Empires were to submit the rest of their tropical possessions to similar supervision. If they believe that their administration is just,

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there seems no reason why they should not do so ; such an action would tend, by its example, to compel the worse colonial administrations to mend their ways.

In the second place we must consider those countries, of which India is the greatest, in which a certain amount of industrialisation has already taken place, but which are not independent. A higher standard of unselfishness will be requisite if European Powers are to encourage and assist the development of trade which may compete with their own, when, as governors, they appear to be able to prevent it. Greater efficiency in the cotton industry in India may mean less trade for Lancashire. Such a position must be faced ; for in one form or another it is almost certain to arise in industry, as it is already arising in the Civil Service, where, as more Indians occupy posts in the administration, fewer Englishmen are required. A real conception of Christian brotherhood seems to be the only power likely to be strong enough to make the stronger give way to the weaker and help him to find his feet in the modern world “ though it were to his own hindrance.” So far the international ideals of labour have broken down at this point. It is labour which opposes Japanese immigration in the United States, and labour which opposes better conditions for native labourers in South Africa. Precautions must indeed be taken, for no injustice must be done to the whites ; but at present it is the converse that needs emphasis, the development of the coloured races which needs encouragement.

In the third place, we must consider the responsi-

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bility of the Western peoples in the case of independent states such as Japan and China. In these countries, as in India, there are already operative labour unions which are likely to result in improved conditions, as they will render the workers more easily able to negotiate with their employers regarding wages and conditions of labour. Is there much need of guidance here? Do not long hours of labour and unfavourable working conditions tend to bring about their own remedy? The answer is that, while unduly harsh conditions tend to correct themselves, by diminishing in time, through ill-health and otherwise, the supply and efficiency of labour, the amount of labour available in the East is so great that normally these factors would not become operative for a long time. In the interval they would involve terrible hardship for thousands of people. To prevent this it is clearly the duty of the West to place all the experience that it has gained at the disposal of the East.

It has been found in the West that there is a point beyond which it is inadvisable to employ human labour. Dr Abbe, of Zeiss's works, conducted a large number of experiments which satisfied him that, among three-quarters of all industrial workers, the limit of productive efficiency is reached before the worker has been nine hours in steady employment. He maintains that a greater absolute product—not only a greater product per hour—is to be expected from regular work of between eight and nine hours a day than from regular work of any longer period. Professor Pigou refers to investigations into the hours of labour in munition works in

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1916.¹ The hours of work yielding maximum output were 56 hours a week for men on very heavy work; about 60 hours for men on heavy work, and about 70 hours for men on light work.

The longer hours of labour in the East will, accordingly, result in less effective production, but there is an unlimited supply of labour which may be drawn into the factories from the surrounding country districts. In many cases in Japan 80 per cent. of the women workers leave the factories annually owing to inability to stand the strain.² With such a supply of labour and with the relatively short working life of the majority of the workers, it may still be found profitable to carry on industry under conditions which in the West would create such a drain on the labour supply that it would quickly become exhausted.

Matters will not improve of their own accord, and the guidance of the West is essential in order that other peoples may be saved from mistaken paths and wrong policies. Even as the Temporary Mandates Commission is likely to prove a source of great good to the territories under mandates, so, by means of the International Labour Organisation, of which a more detailed account will be given later, much advance is likely to be secured for the Eastern peoples. One of the greatest tasks of the International Labour Organisation will be to try to bring the other countries nearer to the position to which the more advanced countries have

¹ *The Economics of Industry*, p. 146.

² J. Ingram Bryan, *Japan from Within*, p. 135.

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already attained. Mr G. N. Barnes suggests¹ that it may be at first advisable for the Conference to confine itself to such reform. It might be possible for an international organisation to reach decisions which are in advance of the legislation in the leading countries, yet, in spite of the support by government representatives which such decisions would have to secure before being passed by the Conference, they might not ultimately be ratified. In this way the prestige of the Conference would suffer, for countries beginning their industrial development would see the more experienced countries ignoring the reforms proposed by the Conference and would tend to do likewise. On the other hand, if Mr Barnes' suggestion is followed, the proposals of the Conference will be based on existing legislation and on experience secured as a result of the operation of such legislation in the countries which have adopted it and they will be submitted to the various legislative authorities, not as untried measures regarding whose operation many difficulties may be anticipated, but as measures whose value has been proved in the countries in which they have been tried.

This will, of course, result in the passing of many Conventions which will make very few demands on the leading countries, as existing measures will be found in most cases to cover the new Conventions; but the countries for which the new measures will involve a considerable advance will be reconciled to such an advance by the knowledge that it is international in its scope and will not involve action prejudicial to the best interests of any country.

¹ *International Labour Review*, January 1921, p. 17.

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Such procedure will secure the progress already made by the more forward peoples against the forces which operate in the more backward lands.

We are not to imagine, however, that changes of this kind are required only in the "backward countries." According to the Census of Occupations of 1920, there were in the United States 2,773,506 wage-earners between the ages of 10 and 17, of whom 1,060,958 were under 16 years of age. A published statement of the American Federation of Labour, dated 31st January 1925, points out the extent of the evil. Amongst other things, it recalls the fact that the 1920 census took no account of wage-earners under ten years of age, although, the Federation states, there are thousands of children under that age who are employed in industry. Further, the inquiries of the National Child Labour Committee have revealed the fact that there are children less than six years of age who are working all day. Many rightly deplore the recent refusal of the United States legislature to pass legislation in accordance with the Child Labour Convention.

Yet these conditions are exceptional, while much worse conditions are common in the East. The present trouble in China is not unrelated to grievous social conditions. In Shanghai a Commission appointed by the International Labour Organisation visited a number of mills and similar places of employment, both during the day and at night, and saw very many children at work who could not have been more than six years of age. The hours of work were generally twelve, with not more than one

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hour off for a meal. The children frequently had to stand the whole time they were at work. In many industries day and night work was the rule, there being two shifts of twelve hours each. Wages were paid only for working days. In many cases the atmospheric and dust conditions were bad, while sanitary arrangements in the majority of mills and factories left very much to be desired. The contract system of employment was common, the native contractor supplying the requisite labour and being paid on production. This system was obviously open to grave abuse. The children were frequently most miserably housed and fed. They received no money and their conditions of life were practically those of slavery. As a result of the Commission some of the worst abuses were removed.

In 1921, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office received information concerning the inhuman conditions in which children were employed in carpet-weaving in Kerman and the adjacent villages in Persia. Photographic and other evidence was placed before it, tending to indicate that children were deformed for life through premature employment under unhealthy conditions. The Governing Body, recalling that Persia, as a Member of the League of Nations, had undertaken, under Article XXIII of the Covenant, to "secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children," instructed the Office to make friendly representations to the Persian Government regarding these allegations. A year later the International Labour Office was informed that, pending definite measures, the Kerman local authorities had been

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requested by the Persian Government to enforce the following conditions, among others: the eight-hours' day, the prohibition of the employment of boys and girls under ten and the permission for workers to leave the factory at midday for rest. The decree, issued by the Governor of Kerman in December 1923, provides for a maximum working day of eight hours, holidays with pay on Fridays and festivals, a minimum age of eight years for boys and ten for girls, separate work-places for boys and girls, with forewomen to supervise those for girls, prohibition of the employment of workers suffering from contagious disease, prohibition of underground or damp workshops, the provision of windows facing south, disposition of the weaving frame and worker's seat so as to give the best possible working position for the young worker, and monthly sanitary inspection of workshops. The police authorities are instructed to enforce those requirements, any infringement of which is punishable by a fine or imprisonment for a period not exceeding twenty days. These are only two illustrations of many similar tasks which remain to be performed, and such efforts for the betterment of Eastern conditions are assured of the general support of the white peoples of the world.

There are, however, problems which cannot be settled so easily. There are some questions which not only tend to divide the white peoples from each other but tend also to separate the coloured peoples. If an issue arises between two Eastern powers, then each power has its allies in the West. For disputes of a political nature the League of

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Nations exists and has already shown its power. There are other issues which constantly arise, dealing with labour conditions. While many of the most urgent problems would be mitigated if the policy of the Open Door were applied in colonial possessions and in mandated territories, there would still remain questions of population and of labour regulation, in the solution of which the utmost care would be required.

The claims for greater opportunities of expansion which the Eastern peoples are making are not likely to be satisfied merely by the faithful application of the policy of the Open Door. There is need for an international investigation of the situation, and a settlement which will be just to all the interests concerned. Some suggest that Australia might allow the entry of coloured immigrants into a great stretch of her northern territory. Meanwhile, Australia, with a population less than that of New York, and a territory 50,000 square miles larger than that of the United States, contains only 35,000 Chinese and 50,000 Japanese. There is a very difficult entrance test, based on ability to write to dictation 50 words in a European language, and the settlers must be prepared to pass this test again within two years after the settlement. The White Australia policy is supported on many grounds. First of all, its advocates refer to the great areas yet sparsely developed in Siberia, Manchuria and Mongolia. This applies to the demand for expansion on the part of the coloured peoples in general. Further, there is likelihood of an increasing immigration of white settlers who will find it necessary to

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leave European countries, and great stretches of Australia will be utilised by them. Professor Gregory points out that there is not much land in Northern Australia which could be profitably utilised by the coloured races. It is, however, futile to argue over the possibilities of a departure from the White Australia policy. It is likely to characterise the attitude of the Australian people for many decades, and if it were departed from, no matter how good the results might ultimately be, there would be a prolonged period of disputation and internal conflict, which is undesirable.

Sometime, however, the population of Japan and China will require an outlet, after all steps have been taken to develop such territories as are already under their control and are at present but partially utilised. Where is it to be found? Several writers, including Mr Bywater¹ and Mr Golovin,² suggest that the Philippines should be made available. Others suggest the Dutch East Indies. Mr Bywater says that there is little to prevent Japan from seizing the Philippines when she desires. It is probable that the ultimate solution will have to be found along the lines of the surrender, by some of the white Powers, of some of their territory. The world cannot long remain in the anomalous position of one-third of its population controlling eight-ninths of its territory. If it should prove that the solution of the problem is to be found in the surrender to Eastern control of a territory formerly controlled by a white Power, then naturally this surrender must be regarded not

¹ *Sea Power in the Pacific.*

² *Problems of the Pacific.*

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as the act of one nation but as the act of the white peoples generally, and if it happens that territory belonging to one nation is thus surrendered the other white peoples must consider how they can make amends for what that country loses. This emphasises the necessity of the affected peoples facing this problem, not as separate units intent on their own individual claims, but as a body, and any surrender will require to be regarded as a corporate effort, on the part of the white peoples of the world, to secure peace. With regard to the immigration of Eastern people into Western countries, there is, again, need for an international understanding. Some suggest that intermarriage should be encouraged and the races allowed to assimilate. The blending of race is sometimes successful. Where the two races are very like each other, and where social conditions are favourable, the best qualities of both may emerge in the offspring, but when two distinct races, on very different levels of civilisation, mingle, the offspring is likely to accentuate the features of the inferior stock. Exceptions occur, such as Booker Washington and Du Bois, but such intermarriage is not to be recommended.

On the other hand, Professor Gregory and others suggest that special districts for eastern settlers might be provided in each area. This policy is already in part followed in some of the great cities, but, of course, these coloured peoples take their place in industrial activities and the segregation can only be partial. Where the races at present are employed in the same operations, they must live near to their work and consequently near to each other.

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The International Labour Conferences, in which Governments, Employers and Employees are represented, seem obviously fitted for giving guidance on such questions as occasion arises. For example local Conferences might be called. A Conference of all the states of North and South America might be able to provide a helpful solution of the problem of coloured labour in America. On another occasion the representatives of the Powers which border on the Pacific might be called upon to deal with some aspect of the White Australia problem.

That great territory is not administered as it might be because there is an inadequate supply of unskilled labour for its needs. If Australia were to adopt a quota principle, even with the improvements suggested above, she would not to any extent solve the problem of her industrial needs. She would naturally set a fairly high standard of education and fitness as a test of entrance, and those Asiatics who could pass this test would probably aspire to the more skilled tasks. On the other hand, Australia, in her present action along the lines of a White Australia policy, is antagonising Japanese sentiment, because, while she needs workers, she discriminates against Asiatics on racial grounds. While fully aware of the opposition such a suggestion will arouse, one ventures to suggest that an annual admission of 150 Asiatics, after careful examination, would do a great deal to ease the situation.

The power to be given to such Conferences would require to be carefully defined. In all probability it would be advisable to ask such a Conference to prepare draft proposals for submission

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to the Geneva International Conference. No question regarding coloured labour in America could be fully dealt with unless the views of the representatives of China, Japan, Africa and India were also considered, and accordingly no decision could be made except at a General Conference. There are dangers in such preliminary conferences ; it would be difficult to preserve the international point of view ; but if these conferences are purely advisory, and if the delegates know that it will be futile to send to the General Conference any suggestion which they cannot support in the fiercer light of the General International Conferences the conferences are likely to achieve much good.

In the course of time action would undoubtedly be required which is outside the sphere of the International Labour Organisation, but, while this body would not necessarily come to the final decision regarding racial problems, it seems that one task which it should set itself to, when it feels sufficiently strong to stand the strain of so difficult a subject, is the preparation for two such preliminary conferences. The stern facts of the situation have to be faced. Difficulties must be frankly dealt with. It will naturally be asked whether the International Labour Organisation is likely to be able to bear the burdens placed upon it. The League of Nations has secured a wide measure of support and attention, and the support given to the League is indirectly given also to the Labour Organisations attached. These organisations have already performed tasks of the utmost value and their work is such that they deserve the support and attention of all interested in social welfare.

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It is especially necessary that a public opinion which rises above race prejudice and class antagonism should be created. Patriotism is valuable and has contributed much to the development of the most highly-civilised peoples. The citizens of every country have something of which they may be proud, and national sentiment should be encouraged, but this pride of race is often a very serious barrier in the way of international understanding. Many find it extremely difficult, try as they may, to bridge the gulf of colour and to become as interested in a man of another race as they would be in one of their own. Frequently the prejudice has an historical origin and is a vestige of the days of warfare between two peoples. In 1921 the Duke of Connaught, on the occasion of his last visit to India, made an appeal in connection with the opening of the new councils at Delhi. He asked all sections of the community to "bury, along with the dead past, the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, to join hands and work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day."¹ This appeal should be laid to heart in every land.

Although Jesus lived in the midst of the most fanatical race hatred, He would not countenance such feelings. When some told Him of the latest atrocity of Pilate—how he had killed Galileans on a feast day, He would not encourage their bitter feeling. "Unless ye repent ye shall all likewise perish." This is the only comment He passes

¹ C. M. M'Innes, *The British Commonwealth and its Unsolved Problems*, p. 94.

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(Luke xiii. 13). In His declaration regarding the tribute money, He definitely refused to sanction the political conflict of His time. The Samaritans He treated with kindness, and, while the Jews regarded the great cities of Syria as centres of degradation only fit for the fires of God's wrath, He declared that the cities of Tyre and Sidon were more pleasing to God than Jerusalem. This is not intended to give encouragement to those who always denounce their own country, who, as it has been well put, "would sooner hear an Italian dog bark than a British nightingale sing." But there is need for Jesus' teaching in our day, that we may rise above the race hatreds and prejudices which spoil the world's life.

VI

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IN the earlier part of the eighteenth century there was very little consideration of the needs of the workers either in our own country or in other countries. Many factors operated to direct attention to the necessity of providing adequately for the needs of those whose labour made modern industry possible. While the Middle Ages have been taken as an illustration of the good results of church intervention in social life, and while the church certainly did much, it must be remembered that this country was still under serfdom. To compare, as some do, the position of the mediæval guildsman with the position of the worker in modern industry is quite unjustifiable. The true comparison would be between the small master of the eighteenth century and the guildsman, and between the worker of the factory system and the serf of preceding centuries. While the eighteenth century witnessed but little direct help given by the church officially to the improvement of social conditions, much of the inspiration of the reform movements came from within the church. The Tolpuddle Labourers opened the meetings of their Agricultural Union with prayer. Their attitude is well described in

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the words attributed to James Loveless, one of their leaders and a Methodist lay preacher :

“God is our guide, no swords we draw,
We kindle not war’s battle fires :
By reason, union, justice, law,
We claim the birthright of our sires,
We raise the watchword liberty,
We will, we will, we will be free.”¹

The names of Lord Shaftesbury, Joseph Rayner Stephens, Richard Oastler, Canon Girdlestane and many others recall the story of the part religious conviction played in the reform movement of the early days of British industrialism. Professor Thorold Rogers pays a high tribute to the Primitive Methodists : “I do not believe that the mass of peasants could have been helped at all if it had not been for the organisation of the Primitive Methodists, a religious system which, as far as I have seen its working, has done more good with scanty means than any other religious agency.” As the century passed, and conditions improved, it became clear that the standard of living depended also on factors operating from outside this country.

In the appeal which Daniel le Grand addressed on 5th December 1840, to the Governments of Germany and Switzerland, he pointed out that national legislation to improve the position of the workers was insufficient and that international action was necessary. In 1841 he suggested that the French Government should call an International Conference for this purpose and in 1857 he sent a letter to the

¹ Ernest Selley, *Village Trade Unions in Two Centuries*, p. 19.

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Governments of France, Prussia, Russia and Italy, pointing out the necessity for international action, but his suggestions were not acted upon. In 1871, Bismarck tried, without success, to arrange with Austria for a common policy in social reform. Similar suggestions, equally unavailing, were made in 1873 by Louis Wolowski to the French National Assembly ; by the German theologian Thiersch, in 1875, to the Emperor William I ; and in subsequent years by others in various countries. The first international treaty for the purpose of protecting the interests of workers was that concluded, on 31st May 1882, between France and Belgium. The Berlin Conference of 15th March 1890, though ineffective, marked the next advance. The programme of the Conference included the protection of children and women, and the weekly day of rest. Meantime, demands were being made by the workers of the various countries for international legislation—at the Swiss Workers' Association in 1883, at the International Labour Congress at Roubaix in 1884, and elsewhere. At last, in 1900, at Paris, with M. Millerand as President, the International Association for the Protection of Workers was formed.

Labour, however, had already made an unofficial beginning. The “First International” met in 1862 and included representatives of Labour from the leading European countries. There might have been a very profitable future for this gathering, had not Karl Marx intervened at a formative stage in its career with the teaching of his famous book *Das Kapital*. It is very unfortunate that an inter-

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national movement with such infinite capacity for improving the lot of the distressed and poverty-stricken in Europe should have found itself brought under the dominion of such an undesirable leader. One writer has suggested that he came like a cuckoo to a nest already prepared and his thought—extreme, revolutionary and extravagant—entirely drove out the more moderate thought of the others who had started that movement.

Such attempts to make the international mind operative are futile. They are based on the conception of an inevitable class war, and people who go about preaching class war, no matter of what class, are the enemies of every class. We must recognise that there have been faults on both sides. It is unjust for a man to cry out to-day that Labour is a rebel unless he also admits that in the past Capital has often been a tyrant. Nothing can be gained by increasing the bitterness between the classes. To put grit instead of oil into the industrial machine, to stir up the fires of hatred, is a disservice of the grossest kind. At the same time, to be neglectful of the fact that there are great wrongs to be put right, to be complacent in the presence of the many outstanding needs of our day, to enjoy luxury with an easy conscience while others are denied the most elementary necessities of life, is as reprehensible as the attitude of those who go about fomenting strife.

Prior to the outbreak of war, International Labour Conferences were held every second year in Switzerland. About twenty countries sent representatives. The most outstanding result of their labours was

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the adoption at Berne in 1906 of two International Conventions, one dealing with the use of white phosphates, which was signed by the delegates of seven states, and the other dealing with night-work of women, which was signed by the delegates of fourteen states. The outbreak of war interfered with the Berne Conference, which was to have met in the autumn of 1914 to deal with the prohibition of night-work of children and the limitation to eight hours per day of the work of women and children. The war years followed and now we find the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations assuming the functions of the former organisation.

The development of these earlier activities shows the recognition by the workers of various countries of the need for an International Labour Organisation. It was fully recognised that the new organisation must possess greater powers and influence than the old. Those responsible for the preparation of the draft proposals for its institution had to make sure that the new organisation would be acceptable to the workers who had established the former one, and at the same time they had to create an institution in which the various Governments could place their confidence. In order that the voice of Labour might be fully represented in the preparation of the proposals, very careful consideration was given to the recommendations of the various international labour bodies. In July 1916, a Conference was held at Leeds, representative of the organised labour of France, Great Britain, Belgium and Italy, to discuss the nature of the Labour clauses which should be

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inserted in the Peace Treaty. In October 1917, a conference for a similar purpose, representative of organised Labour in neutral countries and in the Central Powers, was held at Berne. The Leeds Conference and the Berne Conference adopted the same resolutions. At the Socialist Conferences held in London in September 1918, and in Berne in February 1919, further approval of the Leeds and Berne resolutions was given.

At the session of 25th January, 1919, of the Versailles Conference, the matter was carefully considered and a Commission, consisting of twenty members and a number of technical advisers, was appointed. While there were members on the Commission who did not represent Labour, the Labour representation was strong. Mr G. N. Barnes from Great Britain, M. Jouhaux from France, M. Cabrini from Italy, M. Vandervelde and M. Lafontaine from Belgium and other leaders of the Labour movement were members, while Mr Gompers was chairman. Between 1st February and 24th March the Commission held 35 sessions and the text which it proposed was, on 11th April 1919, adopted by the Peace Conference and was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles. The Commission which prepared the Labour Charter was at least justified in expecting that proposals, in the preparation of which leading representatives of Labour from so many countries had played so important a part, would be acceptable to the Labour organisations of the various countries. These expectations were fully realised. At the International Labour Conference, opened in Amsterdam on 25th July 1919, represent-

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ing fourteen countries and 17,740,000 workers, a resolution was adopted to the effect that the charter formed a true basis for a League of Peoples.¹ It stated two conditions which would require to be fulfilled before its members could collaborate with the Washington Conference :

That Labour representatives of all countries without exception should be invited to the Washington Conferences, and that the Labour representatives should be appointed by the Labour organisations in the various countries.

These two conditions were accepted.

Further support was given at the British Trade Union Congress held from 6th to 11th September 1920. A resolution was passed declaring that the Organisation provided an important basis for international legislation. At the Second International, held in Geneva from 1st July to 6th August in 1920, a resolution was passed calling upon "All the workers' organisations of the world to help the International Office in its noble mission." The International Miners' Conference, held in Geneva from 2nd to 6th August in the same year, asked that the International Labour Office should co-operate with it in establishing an International Commission for coal distribution, and the International Metal Workers' Conference, held in Copenhagen from 20th to 26th August 1920, resolved

¹ "Cette Charte peut devenir la base d'une ligue qui ne sera pas seulement une ligue des gouvernements, mais aussi une ligue des peuples." André de Maday, *La Charte Internationale du Travail*, p. 74 (1921).

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that it should co-operate with the affiliated organisations in working for legislation along the lines of the Washington Eight-hours'-day Convention. Undoubtedly, these organisations will from time to time adopt a somewhat critical attitude to the International Labour Conferences, but at present it seems that organised labour in the various countries is giving thorough support to the work and to the ideals of the International Labour Organisation.

Each country sends four delegates to the General Conference, two representing the Government, one the employers and one the workers. Mr Gompers felt that the allowance of two representatives from each Government was excessive and that it made possible a combination of employers' representatives and Government representatives which was "improper, inadmissible and indefensible."¹ He pointed out that a number of extremists who represented Labour interests voted for this excessive Government representation on the ground that Socialists would in all probability at no distant date be in charge of a large number of the Governments of the world and in that case the interests of Labour would be well secured at the Labour and other Conferences. This objection is outweighed by the important consideration that before a Convention is passed by the International Labour Conference it must have a two-thirds majority, and that an arrangement such as the existing one is necessary to avoid constant deadlocks arising; and by the further consideration that, since Conventions are of value only in so far as they are likely to be ratified by

¹ House and Seymour, *What Happened at Paris* (1921), p. 322.

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Governments, it is wise to give full weight to the opinion of the representatives of the various Governments. It may be noted in passing that the Government representatives at Washington and Genoa often voted against the employers' representatives. The Governing Body in control of the Labour Office is composed of twenty-four persons. The Director of the Labour Office is appointed by the Governing Body and assisted by a staff of his own selection. Of the twenty-four representatives appointed to the Governing Body twelve are selected to represent Governments, six are elected by delegates to the General Conference representing employers, and six by delegates representing workers. Of the twelve selected to represent Governments, eight are nominated by those members which are of the chief industrial importance and four by members selected for the purpose by the Government delegates of the other states at the Conference. Professor Dickinson points out that, in contradistinction to the Conference, where a two-thirds majority is required, no express provision covers the decisions of the Governing Body of the Labour Organisation, but that, in absence of any provision to the contrary, the Governing Body will probably act by majority vote.¹ On the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation the eight chief industrial powers are represented.

The measure of support received from Labour Organisations shows that one of the two problems which presented themselves to those responsible for

¹ E. D. Dickinson, *The Equality of States in International Law* (1920), p. 371.

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the preparation of the draft proposals has been solved. The other problem was to secure that Governments would give due weight to their Conventions and Recommendations. This idea was doubtless in the mind of Brockdorff-Rantzau when, in his second note of 22nd May 1919, regarding the Labour Organisations, he indicated his desire that the Conventions should have the force of International Laws. He judiciously refrained from endeavouring to indicate how this might be done. The Syndicalist, Gino Baldesi, who was a delegate from Italy to the Washington Conference, recommended in his report of January 1920, to the Italian Labour Federation, that the decision of the Conference should have the force of law without any ratification on the part of the various countries. At present, the Conventions bind only the states which ratify them, but once a state has ratified a Convention, sanctions may be employed to make it fulfil the terms of the Convention. If a Government is not fulfilling its obligations, the authority of the League of Nations may be invoked in one of two ways. The appeal to the League may take the form of a claim or a complaint. In the former case the Governing Body asks the Government complained against to state its case and if a satisfactory answer is not forthcoming, the matter is made public. In the latter case a Commission is appointed. When a Commission of Inquiry is appointed, it not only comes to a finding regarding the matter under dispute, but suggests certain sanctions where necessary. There is a right of appeal from the Commission of Inquiry to the

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Permanent Court of International Justice. When presenting the draft of the Covenant to the Third Plenary Session on 14th February 1919, President Wilson said : " Armed force is in the background of this programme, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a Constitution of Peace, not as a League of War." If occasion arises, powerful sanctions¹ are available in connection with the decisions of the International Labour Conference which have been ratified. Economic measures might include the prohibition of all loans to the defaulting member ; cutting off telephone, telegraph and postal communication ; an embargo on shipping ; the internment of ships coming from ports of the defaulting member ; the prohibition of exports ; the denial of the advantages of a colonial "open door" policy ; a blockade of the coast line. The existing arrangement does not give to the decisions of the Labour Conference the weight and authority which Brockdorff-Rantzau and Gino Baldesi desired them to have, but the decisions are far from being generalities.

The principles on which the Labour Charter is based provide a basis for future progress. They are :

1. Freedom of Association.
2. An Adequate Wage.
3. That labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.
4. Equal Pay for Equal Work.

¹ G. A. Johnston, *International Social Progress*, p. 42.

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While the other principles have already been in some measure embodied in the legislation of the leading countries and the international conscience has been to some extent awakened, there has as yet been no such recognition of the principle of Equal Pay for Equal Work. The fact that public opinion in the matter is not yet advanced is no argument against the principle. It will be found of great value in the future that such a principle was included in the Peace Treaty. The insertion in Clause VII of the demand for the application of the principle in all appointments made by the League of Nations was a wise measure. It applies the principle in a sphere in which new organisations are being created and in which it can thus be applied without much difficulty. While the principle is of great value as an ideal and as a guide for future development, it would be most unwise to demand that industry should be at once reorganised in accordance with it.

The principle of Freedom of Association has been applied in various forms. The German law of 5th December 1917, ordered that in all undertakings in which at least fifty employees were engaged, workers' committees (*Arbeiterausschüsse*) and employers' committees (*Angestelltenten Ausschüsse*) should be created. The Whitley Councils in Great Britain, the Shop Committees in America, and similar organisations in France and other countries are indications of advance along the line of the recognition of this principle. It is not of such a nature that it can be embodied in definite conventions of an International Conference. The most that can be done is that, where breaches of the principle are

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proved, measures should be taken to ensure its true working. It may at times be necessary to introduce safeguards. The principle ensures liberty to combine for both employers and employees.

It would be equally difficult to prepare any convention dealing with an Adequate Wage. Consequently, this principle should meantime be regarded as one in which the International Labour Conference would interfere only if breaches of it were brought to its notice. An Adequate Wage does not mean a wage adequate to the contribution of the worker to industry, but rather a wage adequate to maintain the worker and his dependants in a reasonable standard of well-being.

So also with the principle that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce. This cannot be embodied directly in legislation. It would be very difficult to discover how any country could prepare an appeal against what it might regard as an infringement of this principle. On the other hand, if the new organisation is recognised as a reliable agency for dealing with the most pressing industrial questions of our time, and if our representatives are prepared to give a wise lead to the other nations, much good will accrue.

While some of the principles are thus not of such a nature that they can become the subject of international conventions, the fact that they have been given a place in the Peace Treaty means that the International Labour Organisations are bound in all their deliberations to act in the light of these principles. Other principles, however, are more

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easily embodied in legislation. Regarding some of these, Conventions and Recommendations have been drawn up at the Washington Conference summoned by the I.L.O. in 1919 and at the Genoa Conference in 1920.¹ The most important Conventions related to the eight-hours' day or forty-eight-hours' week. The forty-eight-hours' week was preferred to the eight-hours' day on the ground that it allowed greater elasticity in the arrangement of the hours of work, permitting a half-holiday or a whole holiday on Saturday, and further helped to secure the weekly rest day which the principle of the eight-hours' day did not necessarily do. In certain industries, where work goes on continually, it is recognised that the principle cannot be applied, and it is recommended that in such cases the average number of hours worked over a month shall not exceed fifty-six per week. In backward countries such advanced legislation is at present impossible. Accordingly, in the case of Japan, while miners and persons under 15 years are to be restricted to 48 hours per week, the general maximum is to be 57 hours, except in the raw silk industry, where 60 hours per week are allowed. In British India the principle of a 60 hours' week is suggested. Subsequent Conferences will require to take the steps which are involved as a result of the ratification of the existing Conventions, and also to deal with the difficult question of hours of labour in China, Persia and Siam. Five other Conventions were passed at the Washington Conference.

¹ For list of Conventions and ratifications by various countries, see Appendix, p. 151.

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The endeavour of the Genoa Conference to apply the eight-hours' day or the forty-eight-hours' week principle to seamen was not successful. Confusion regarding what was involved in the Washington decisions contributed considerably to the difficulty of the Genoa discussions. Difficulties arose at the beginning as to whether the Draft Convention of the eight-hours' day or the forty-eight-hours' week applied to seamen. The seamen, basing their argument on the fact that the Convention referred to "Transport of passengers or goods by road, rail, sea or inland waterways, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, etc.," argued that the Conference had not to debate the general question but simply to adapt the Washington regulations to the special circumstances of shipping. The majority of the shipowners and certain Government delegates, basing their arguments largely on the phrase contained in the Convention, that "The provisions relative to transport by sea and on inland waterways shall be determined by a special Conference," held that no maritime experts were present at Washington and that any reference to seamen's hours was *ultra vires*. Although no decision on the matter was come to at Genoa, the matter was not left there. Informal conferences between representative shipowners and seamen have since been held under the auspices of the International Labour Office with valuable results.

On 1st July 1921, the Draft Recommendations of the Washington Conference were before the British Parliament. The debate centred in the Conventions relating to married women in factories and to

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the eight-hours' day. The Government declared its intention to ratify four of the six Washington Conventions. The fourth, fifth and sixth Conventions, dealing respectively with the employment of women during the night, the minimum age for the admission of children to industrial employment, and the night-work of young persons, have been ratified, and the conditions covered, by the Women, Young Persons and Children (Employment) Act, 1920. The second Convention, which deals with unemployment, and which was already practically covered by legislation, was ratified also. The Government did not ratify the other two Conventions and this attitude was confirmed by the Government of April 1925. At the Washington Conference Mr Barnes, the British representative, voted against the Maternity Convention and thus gave a warning to all the other members of the Conference that Great Britain was not prepared to accept it. The crucial matter for us in this connection is the Government's attitude to the eight-hours' day or forty-eight-hours' week Convention. Before considering this Convention further, a survey of the Government's attitude to the six Recommendations of the Washington Conference is of value. In addition to the six Conventions there were six Recommendations, dealing with fee-charging employment agencies, the reciprocity of treatment of foreign workers, the recruitment of bodies of workers in other countries, anthrax, the protection of women and children against lead poisoning, and the use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches. Ratification of the second recommendation was not

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refused, and, while the British standard of treatment of foreign workers is recognised as being up to the standard of the Recommendation, the Government awaited the report of the International Commission on Emigration before it made any decision. In connection with the Eight-hours' Day Convention, a report submitted by the French Government to the League of Nations indicated the difficulties in certain parts of France. At Lens, where pumps have been installed in the mines, capable of raising large quantities of water to the surface, it took three years' steady pumping before the water was taken from the mines, and it was suggested that in light of the work remaining to be done in France that country should not be asked to bring the eight-hours' day into operation.

It is worthy of note that in Great Britain, at the date of the publication of Report I, the hours of labour of 4,500,000 work-people, out of an industrial population of 12 million to 16 million, had been reduced to forty-eight hours or less per week by voluntary agreement. In considering the Government's attitude, one must admit that the practical difficulties in ratifying the Convention were many. The ratification of the Eight-hours' Day Convention as it proceeded from Washington would, in the first place, have been opposed to the agreement with the railwaymen, whereby Sunday duty is paid for at special rates and is outside the guaranteed forty-eight-hours' week. The railway agreement has many difficulties attached to it. The signalman on the country line along which two trains pass daily must either have a substitute provided or be

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paid overtime because there is an interval of more than eight hours between the first train and the last. It is unfortunate that one cannot discover clear lines of distinction which would satisfy all concerned, because it must be clear to all that there may be a great distinction between the needs of a signalman who on a quiet line is for eight hours on duty and the needs of the driver who is constantly on the alert.

The present industrial situation also tends to diminish support for such a Convention. The war left the world impoverished. There are great differences when one compares the relative weight of taxation which falls on the citizens of the different countries, but all are weighed down by an almost insupportable burden. During the nineteenth century Great Britain found herself unable to wipe off the comparatively small National Debt of £800,000,000. How the twentieth century can wipe off a debt of ten times the amount is a very serious problem. Austria-Hungary is faced with a war debt equal to her national income for about four years. France and Germany have a debt of approximately three years' income. The average expenditure on the war per head of population was £58 in Great Britain, as against £43 in the United States and £162 in France. From the definite work of industry great masses of men were taken. In France 20·4 per cent. of the population were mobilised, in Great Britain 12·6 per cent., in Greece 4 per cent., in Germany 19·8 per cent., in Austria-Hungary 13·9 per cent.¹

Meantime, in our country there is a great amount

¹ W. R. Lawson, *Europe after the World War* (1921), p. 36.

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of unemployment and many are apt to turn aside impatiently from any legislation dealing with curtailment of hours of labour. However, those who are thus impatient surely forget that our legislation is not to endure simply for a few months but that the laws we pass to-day are to determine our policy for years to come.

It must be remembered, as Lord Robert Cecil pointed out, that the Treaty of Versailles binds us to an eight-hours' day. The duty of the Washington Conference was accordingly not to discuss the feasibility of the project but to consider how to carry it out. Further, Mr Barnes, acting on instructions from the Government, voted for the Convention. In the reply sent to Mr Barnes in answer to his telegram it was stated that "in the view of His Majesty's Government this principle should be adopted without qualification."¹ Apart from the measure of responsibility involved, there is the risk of rendering the work of such Conferences futile. The position at present is that the British Government ratifies the Conventions and Recommendations which make no difference in our present arrangements, but refuses to ratify, or delays the ratification of, those which do involve some measure of change in our present conditions.² If this method of dealing with International Conventions is widely applied, the whole work of the International Labour Conferences is likely to suffer most seriously. If India acted in the same way, then it would ratify none of the Conventions, or very few, but instead we

¹ *Hansard*, 1st July 1921, par. 2521.

² See Appendix, p. 151.

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find that the Bill which has been drafted for India ratifies all the Conventions, with, of course, the appropriate reservations, and goes in some respects beyond the Conventions. The lower age referred to in the Convention is raised from nine to twelve and the higher age from fourteen to fifteen, while the definition of "factory" is widened.

One occasionally finds the argument used that, as a result of America having refused to enter the League, a new factor emerges. The Washington Conference was held and the advice of our Government given when it was extremely unlikely that America would come in. It must be recognised, however, that since the Conference was held the difficulties in the way of securing an eight-hours' day have grown. The failure of Great Britain and other Governments should not be regarded as a failure on the part of the International Labour Organisation, but rather as a warning that Conventions should not be passed for which the public opinion of the various countries is not prepared.

There are two extremes between which we must steer carefully in future. Lord Eustace Percy pointed out that if we assume that the Government is necessarily bound by moral obligation to ratify what its representatives agree to at the Conference, then the Government will have committed the House in advance. We cannot go so far as this. If a representative feels that by his vote he is necessarily binding his Government to a certain action, he will have to abide rigidly by the advice given him from home, advice which cannot be of the most satisfactory nature, since the representative

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cannot keep his Government in touch with all the developments which take place and all the suggestions which are put forward. In order to secure the best results from such a Conference the representative must feel a sense of grave responsibility, but, at the same time, he must feel free to avail himself of new light which may be thrown on the subjects under discussion. The cession of such additional power to a representative would further tend to diminish the interest of Parliament and other competent authorities in the decisions of the Conference, since they would feel that their hands had been bound prior to any discussion on their part. Between the date of the Conference and the submission of its decisions for ratification, developments may have taken place, or fresh knowledge may have become available, in the light of which these decisions may assume a new aspect, and so power must be left to legislative authorities to come to their own decisions on the matters concerned. Discussion of the decisions of the Conference by the competent authority is necessary in order that the International Labour Organisations may receive guidance as to the extent to which subsequent decisions are likely to be accepted.

One of the most important international issues now before the United States is the question of entrance into the World Court. A mass of influential opinion is behind the suggestion that, with certain reservations, the United States should join the World Court of the League. On the other hand, there seem to be many difficulties barring the way to American membership of the League of

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Nations. Article X and Article XVI of the Covenant are interpreted as involving the members of the League in the necessity of taking coercive action to enforce the League's decisions. It is not clearly realised that, if it had not been for the opposition of small states such as Persia and Panama, the Fourth Assembly would have interpreted Article X in such a way as to meet American objections, and that the British Government has proposed that Article XVI be amended in order to make it clear that membership does not involve the necessity of employing military force. There is a fear that the principles of the Monroe doctrine would be violated, whereas this doctrine was clearly safeguarded in the Treaty, and the unwillingness of the League Council to intervene in the 1921 dispute regarding Panama and Costa Rica and the quarrel between Chile, Peru and Bolivia further shows the League's adherence to this principle. It is hoped that within a few months America will enter the World Court.

It may be a considerable time before she becomes a member of the League, but there seem to be few difficulties in the way of her becoming a member of the International Labour Organisations of the League. Germany is a member of these organisations and sends the four representatives, two from the Government, one from the employers and one from the employees, even although she is not yet a member of the League. There would be no violation of the principle of Sovereignty. The Labour Conferences do not pass legislation. They simply prepare conventions and recommendations, which only become operative if passed by the competent

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authorities in a sufficient number of countries. At present, the United States Senate submits the findings of the Conferences to the various legislative authorities. If, in addition, she could participate in the preparation of these findings, she would be taking a step which would add to the prestige of the League, which would prepare the way for her full membership in the League and which would greatly aid the cause of social progress over the whole world.

VII

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ON Friday, 16th October, 1925, the representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Belgium initialled at Locarno the Protocol embodying the Security Pact and Treaties of Arbitration by means of which we believe that a new era of peace and international understanding will be ensured for Europe. Unless these signatures are repudiated by the various Governments, France, Germany, Belgium, Britain and Italy will be bound to resist with all their forces any Power violating the existing Franco-German frontiers or invading the demilitarised Rhineland. Germany has agreed to apply for admission to the League of Nations and an agreement has been reached between Germany, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia that all disputes between them shall be submitted to the League and that in the event of no agreement being thus reached, there will be no resort to hostilities until three months have elapsed from the time of the breakdown of the negotiations. This step considerably enhances the prestige of the League and provides a basis on which Europe may begin to rebuild the edifice of international goodwill which the Great War shattered. Hitherto politicians and others working to encourage international friendship have felt that they were like builders trying to raise a castle on

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shifting sands. Now that the foundations have been well and truly laid, there is an urgent need for men of good will all over the world to labour in order that upon the political foundation thus created a structure, Christian in its ideal and attitude, may be raised.

The difficulty which always confronts the individual when, after studying such problems as are raised in the previous chapters, he desires to do something, is that they are so complex that it seems impossible to know where to begin. The field is so vast, the individual contribution so slight, that it is difficult to realise that changes can be made by public opinion and that this is made up of the views of millions of autonomous personalities. Some things, indeed, the individual can begin to do himself; others need national or international action.

Throughout the book references have continually been made to the effect on production and distribution of the innumerable restrictions on trade, employment and emigration which are to be found in the world to-day. Especially when they are used as a lever in international policies these restrictions are a most potent source of war. Not long ago the French Government threatened to withdraw the listing privilege from Turkish state bonds unless certain contracts were awarded to French industry.¹ The conflicts of French, British and American oil companies have complicated the future of Mosul. It is easy to see how such bargaining between commercial interests threatens the international relationships of whole countries, and unless the policy of

¹ Culbertson, *Commercial Policy in War Time and After*, p. 324.

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the Open Door is widely applied there will be no way out of these difficulties.

In European relations with Africa and the East such questions become even more dangerous. Nations less developed industrially are less able to protect themselves, and their position is made worse when they are rendered unable, by restrictions on their exports, to sell their produce in open market.

In 1919, a duty of £2 per ton was imposed, in our four West African Colonies, on palm-kernels exported to any destination outside the British Empire. The Governments of the West African dependencies were requested to prohibit the free exportation to destinations outside the Empire of palm-kernels, ground-nuts and copra; and licences were to be granted to exporters, allowing them to export to any lawful destination a certain proportion of the commodities mentioned. The proportions were—for copra an equal amount, for ground-nuts one-fifth, and for kernels one-ninth of the quantity shipped to the United Kingdom. The duty was imposed on the strength of the Report of the Committee on Edible and Oil-Producing Nuts and Seeds. The Committee, which had been appointed on 5th June 1915, reported in May 1916, and recommended that the duty should be imposed during the war and for five years after the war, but the duty was not imposed until October 1919. The reason given was that it would protect our country against undue competition from Germany in the palm-kernel crushing industry. Mr Amery, replying to a question by Mr Hayday,¹ said: “The object of

¹ *Hansard*, 29th October 1919.

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the duty is to ensure that the trade in palm-kernels does not revert to Germany, where it was almost entirely centred before the war." It was at once apparent that the direct result of such action would be the abolition of competition in the purchase of palm-kernels, and that this would make it possible to force the natives to sell at a very low price. In the past, British policy has left colonies free to trade with whom they pleased. This palm-kernel duty was regarded by many as a direct blow to the interests of the natives, although, in answer to a question by Mr Wedgwood, Mr Amery declared that he did not think the native producers would lose in any way. Immediately after Great Britain imposed the duty, France put a prohibitive duty on colonial produce, especially oleaginous seeds. It is probably wrong to regard this as a retaliatory measure, for it was imposed on oleaginous produce shipped from French West African Colonies to all destinations, including France. It shows, however, that a policy of discrimination by one power is quickly followed by others.

We cannot use our control over palm-kernels and other products, thus injuring the soap and chemical industries of other lands, without at the same time challenging other countries to deal with us in a similar manner. Japan has practically a monopoly of natural camphor. Before the war Chile used her monopoly in nitrates to levy an export tax which fell on the foreign consumer. Brazil used her coffee monopoly in the same way, her former monopoly in rubber having been broken by its production in the East Indies. Germany similarly limited the

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export of potash from her practically inexhaustible supplies.

That the evil effects of such restrictions are recognised internationally is shown by the Open Door declaration in President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and by the insistence on free trade in all Mandates. A policy which, by its nature, cannot be approved by more than the one nation which benefits by it, needs most careful scrutiny before it can be accepted in a world so interdependent as this is. Cobden long ago declared that the speculative philosophers of later years would regard the introduction of Free Trade as the greatest revolution of the modern world, and if the clauses relative to the Open Door policy in lands under Mandatory Powers were faithfully carried out, and if they were applied universally, there would be a great decrease of the causes of international jealousy. Arguments in favour of the protection of special industries need a similar careful scrutiny. Their 'boomerang' effect has been already illustrated¹ in the case of the rolled steel industry. Changes in such matters can only be brought about by national legislation; but this will be in accordance with the will of those who are most interested. It is important that the opinion of a wide public, working steadfastly for international goodwill, should supplement and, where necessary, correct the views of men whose special interests make it more difficult for them to see impartially the true line of progress.

For this, as well as for other problems raised throughout the book, the International Labour

¹ See p. 43.

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Organisation is likely to provide the most impartial solution. It makes no claim to infallibility, but, in spite of its imperfections, its various organs stand for international co-operation, and the very fact that it is an international body enables it, on many issues, to attain to a truer sense of proportion as to the relative merits of different proposals than is often possible for even the best-intentioned national of any particular country. In its attempt to apply the principles of unselfish co-operation and consideration for the weak it is expressing the Christian ethic. It is in such practical ways that Christianity must manifest itself, and, although the action must be national, yet the individual Christian citizen has a clear duty. Just as in political matters the citizen's first thought with regard to any international dispute should be for a settlement through the League of Nations, so in economic questions there should be a natural tendency to turn at once to the International Labour Organisation. In either body the action taken depends almost entirely on the public opinion behind it, for only thus can its decisions be put into effect. If public opinion is Christian, then the actions of the League and International Labour Organisation will also be Christian. It is vital that students and leaders of thought should keep themselves informed regarding the operations of these organisations. Through them alone can we hope to put an end to slavery, and to deal with the world-wide menace of narcotics. By means of these organisations the Western nations may exercise a beneficent influence on the Eastern peoples and aid them along the lines of their truest development.

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If we are honestly attempting to find the Christian way of life in economic relationships, we must be prepared to face much more difficult tasks than this, prepared to embark upon some very drastic policies. Without a willingness to make considerable sacrifices if necessary, it will be impossible to supersede the prevalent view that the final arbitrament of international disputes is might. To be prepared to give up that which we are powerful enough to retain, but which we cannot justly keep; to be ready to make amends for faults for which we were not personally responsible, will mean sacrifices for which public opinion is as yet unprepared. Examples can be easily quoted. We may possess rights in China which, from our point of view, are necessary for the legitimate protection of our trade. Meantime, in return for these rights, we are making a valuable contribution to the industrial development of China, but the time will come when our help will be no longer required and these rights will have to be abandoned in the interests of peace. Our colonies will for long continue to furnish an adequate outlet for our surplus population, but what of the countries which have no such inexhaustible fields within their Commonwealth? What of Germany, India, China and Japan if their territory becomes too small for their population?

If those who are the principal sufferers see that the more fortunate refuse to make concessions, in spite of lip-service to the ideal of a warless world, we cannot be surprised if they are driven to attempt by war or threats to obtain their rights. It is of the utmost importance that, before such crises

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arrive, there should be a widespread public opinion which will insist on their reference to an impartial tribunal and will be prepared to accept its decisions. In a civilisation built up as ours is on principles which are in many cases contrary to the spirit of the Gospels, it cannot be surprising to those who look for progress along Christian lines to find that subsequent generations criticise the action in which earlier generations saw no wrong.

Those who do not accept Christianity may naturally refuse such a basis of action, and yet, though they condemn it as either wrong or impracticable, any other way, so far as we can see, will in the end lead to suffering and loss infinitely greater than that involved in the voluntary surrender of their advantages by the stronger. During M. Caillaux's visit to America in the Autumn of 1925, a French cartoon appeared in which a man exclaimed: "America? I tell you what I would do. I would declare war on them at once and let them win. Then they would see what it is like!" Exaggerated though this be, it illustrates the fact that victory in war is hardly less costly to the victor than to the vanquished. The more complex our interdependence, the more true does it become that any other method of settling our differences is, even on the material side, more profitable than war, but before public opinion can be made to realise this, our conception of national honour must be radically changed. Most arbitration treaties contain the exception of cases of 'vital interest' or of 'honour,' yet surely these are the very cases in which a nation cannot fairly judge its own claims.

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That mere motives of material interest should take the place of our conception of honour and dictate an action which a nation felt to be morally dishonourable would be contemptible. A great moral change is needed, and until a nation feels that scrupulous respect for its opponent alone can vindicate its honour, and that others alone can judge impartially of its vital interests, any attempt to progress along the lines of international co-operation is doomed to failure at the first call to surrender to a weaker power.

The policy here advocated will be called impracticable. This criticism has always been levelled against any Christian policy. When Jesus appeared in Galilee He found people with all kinds of social programmes. An incredibly large population, burdened by onerous taxation, drew a precarious living from the soil, and the land was full of social unrest, while political propaganda was widespread. "There was the surge and heave and the unrest of desperate hearts; people angry and sullen and all on edge with patent wrongs."¹ The outstanding problem of the day was the dominance of Rome. "Let us take our swords," said the Zealot, "and overthrow Rome." "Do not let us be too rebellious," the Sadducee said, "but let us try to come to terms with Rome." The thief on the cross was probably one of the Sicarii, or Dagger Men, who formed a small section of the party of the Zealots. He had hoped for an earthly Paradise; the books which he read would be those which

¹ A. J. Gossip, *The Edge of the Crowd*.

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prompted the young men of that generation to heroic deeds. He had fought for his Paradise ; he had sacrificed himself for it ; he had killed men for it, and now he was going to die for it, but there was no sign of Paradise. It was further off than ever, but as he looked on Jesus he realised that there was another way in which his hopes might be one day fulfilled and his dreams realised. While Simon the Zealot had realised this truth in his lifetime and had given loyal service to this ideal, the patriot hanging on the cross saw this truth only when he could no longer act upon it. With a faith unique, almost, in the pages of the New Testament, he spoke of the Kingdom into which Jesus, though despised and rejected, must one day enter. "Lord, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom." He had the insight to see that the way which Jesus taught was the only way by which enduring results could be secured. Jesus often spoke of the world to come. "To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise," He said to the dying man on the cross. Yet He spoke also of an earthly Paradise, of the Kingdom of God growing in the world. He reminded the Jews that they were a chosen people, called for a special purpose. Let Rome be left to its fate, but let the people of Israel engage entirely in the great work which awaited them, the work of establishing a kingdom of love, of righteousness, of goodwill. His policy was pronounced impracticable, and the so-called practical men carried the day, with the result that within a few years Jerusalem was in ruins, its walls pulled down, its homes strewn with ashes. The method of Jesus was the one practicable

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policy which presented itself at that time, and it is the only one which in our generation we have not discovered impracticable. Whichever plan we pursue, loss will be involved. In one case, a selfish policy will lead us more deeply into the mire of international conflict, and will result in the destruction of many valuable lives, and the overthrow of many of the good results of our civilisation. On the other hand, if the wiser policy is pursued, nations and individuals will be called upon to make sacrifices, but they will readily do so because they will discover that by their unselfishness they are building up the walls of the City of God.

To live consciously for such an ideal is undoubtedly a hard task. Men and women, in spite of many good qualities, are yet too unwilling to embark upon any heroic effort. "It is no novelty to see any class, whether high or low, standing on its rights and clamouring for its privileges; but the novelty and the miracle would be to see one forgetting its own claims and vindicating the rights of others."¹ This is not because men are incapable of unselfishness. When a great call is heard and when it seems really worth while embarking upon any noble venture, men will respond as they have always done. The unfortunate thing is that the problems of to-day seem so colossal and the difficulties so numerous that the man who wishes to make some contribution to human well-being and to insert a lever by which he may raise ever so little the burden of the world's distress, does not see what positive good would follow from his action. Consequently many drift

¹ J. Stalker, *The Ethics of Jesus*, p. 320.

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into acquiescence in the commonplace routine. Jesus pictures the religious people of His day. They have to give to the Church an offering of one-tenth, and with laborious exactness they count out their portion. We see a man busy over a little heap of tiny seeds, placing one on one side and the other nine on the other : "Ye tithe anise, and mint and cummin." This was all that religion meant for many, and for many to-day religion seems to mean little more than this, whereas it ought to present us, and more particularly the young men and women of our time, with a call to a life of noble effort and of heroic self-giving. We need to make up our minds that the frontier line of the Kingdom of God can be advanced or retarded by each individual, whether we live obscure lives or whether we have many opportunities of influencing others. Each has his own positive contribution to make.

In our daily vocation, no matter what it may be, we should be constantly on the outlook for opportunities of living this nobler life, and while we can make our influence for good felt in countless ways, there is a very clear duty in connection with national politics. The politician's lot is not a particularly happy one. If a schoolmaster were elected by his pupils, then he would pursue a policy rather different from that which he follows under present circumstances. A true politician should be above thought of the praise or blame of men and should be satisfied if he can justify his actions before the tribunal of his Maker, but if he lives constantly on the lines of such a policy, then he may find himself out of touch

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with an unenlightened community, and consequently may be removed from the position of opportunity in which, as their representative, he can at least do some good. Consequently, many a politician tends to disregard the necessity for giving a lead to his constituency, and is rather inclined to wait for them to give the lead. The duty, therefore, devolves upon those who have caught a vision of God's Kingdom established among men, of using every possible influence in order to raise public opinion, so that the politician who is consistently following out the higher ideals may find that behind him there is a public, appreciative of his effort and prepared to stand by him.

Our ability to perform this duty will depend upon the way in which we have envisaged our vocation, whether in engineering, science, business, medicine, or any other way of life, as a means not primarily of supporting ourselves, but of serving others, and this will involve a very practical faith that, if we "seek first the Kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, then all these things *will* be added unto us." We are not alone, neither are we the first to seek the Kingdom. Great progress along the right lines has already taken place. The observer who tries to discover whether or not a glacier is moving can perceive no progress, but if he places tiny pegs of wood in a line, he finds that each day marks some movement. So matters go on, week after week, until the summer suns come out and the frozen mass, which has been descending the mountain side ever so slowly, becomes a tumultuous torrent carrying everything before it. If men of good will are suffi-

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ciently determined to labour for the improvement of our social conditions, then they will find the glacier beginning to move and their dreams beginning to materialise in a way which they would have thought impossible.

While it is difficult to estimate the progress of Christian principles in international affairs, the most cautious observer must be prepared to admit that the advance already made is by no means negligible. It is easy to become impatient and to feel that in 2000 years the Christian religion ought to have made greater headway, but twenty centuries is, after all, a short period in the history of the human race. Dr Maxwell Garnett has suggested that we should think of history as a great clock, with the hands moving round slowly to indicate the passage of time. Supposing we take the conservative estimate of 240,000 years as the period during which humanity has existed and has been slowly climbing up the ladder of progress, the period during which the Christian religion has operated has been very small. If, on the great time-clock, we now find ourselves at 12 o'clock and the twelve hours represent these 240,000 years, there was little to record until about twenty minutes to twelve, when the code of legislation associated with Hammurabi came into existence. Christianity began its course at seven minutes to twelve, and already there is a very general acceptance of the chief precepts of Christ.

In many cases, however, this general acceptance counts for very little. What we require to guard against to-day is not always open antagonism to His teaching, but rather that attitude of mind which

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recognises that the Christian ideal is the best and at the same time does nothing to apply the method of the Master. It is in the crisis that the true temper of men is revealed, and for crises those who seek the Christian way must be prepared. No ideal, however exalted, is likely to assert its authority over men until some have been found to sacrifice themselves and, if need be, to die, in loyalty to it. Such sacrifice has a unique power to change human hearts and to redeem men from self-seeking.

When Mahatma Gandhi was endeavouring to improve the conditions of Indian workers in South Africa, he formed an association with strict rules, which were frequently broken. He made it known that, if any member of the association were guilty of a further infringement of the regulations, no punishment would be meted out to him, but Gandhi would fast. The leader pursued the same policy in India in the difficult period in 1924. The people had been promised self-government by their leader if they followed him faithfully, and the promise did not mature. There was disagreement between the Hindus and the Moslems, and Gandhi made it known that he would fast until the conflicting parties were brought to an agreement. To the ignorant the thought of responsibility for their leader's death during the fast was in part a threat—for they believed they would be pursued in this life and after by the soul of the just man they had injured. Yet Gandhi's action had an amazing effect, for the two parties realised for the first time how deeply their master deplored their divisions. They saw a just man suffering voluntarily for their mis-

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deeds. Hindus and Moslems forgot their differences when they saw what their conflict meant to Gandhi, and listened to his appeal.

To-day there are sounds of strife everywhere. Masters and men face each other with angry countenances, and the intervening river of mistrust seems to grow daily more deep. Among the nations there is suspicion and conflict, either concealed or overt. High above the conflict and confusion there still stands a Cross, and the Master, who by the way of the Cross passed to His throne, still prays "that they all may be one." When will the nations of the world listen to One whose shoe-latchet Gandhi would acknowledge himself unworthy to unloose ?

APPENDIX

Table showing Draft Conventions of the International Labour Conference, with the names of the countries which had ratified each by February 1925.

(A) FIRST SESSION (WASHINGTON, 1919).

1. Hours of work in industrial undertakings :
Austria, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, India, Italy, Rumania.
2. Unemployment :
Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, Great Britain, Greece, India, Italy, Japan, Norway, Poland, Rumania, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland.
3. Employment of women before and after childbirth :
Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, Spain.
4. Night-work (women) :
Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Esthonia, Great Britain, Greece, India, Italy, Netherlands, Rumania, South Africa, Switzerland.
5. Minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment :
Belgium, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Great Britain, Greece, Poland, Rumania, Switzerland.
6. Night-work (young persons) :
Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Esthonia, Great Britain, Greece, India, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Rumania, Switzerland.

(B) SECOND SESSION (GENOA, 1920).

1. Minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea :
Bulgaria, Denmark, Esthonia, Great Britain, Japan, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden.

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2. Unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of the ship :
Bulgaria, Estonia, Italy, Poland, Spain.
3. Establishment of facilities for finding employment for seamen :
Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Poland, Sweden.

(C) THIRD SESSION (GENEVA, 1921).

1. Age of admission of children to employment in agriculture :
Austria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Italy, Japan, Poland, Sweden.
2. Rights of Association (agriculture) :
Austria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Great Britain, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Sweden.
3. Workmen's Compensation (agriculture) :
Denmark, Estonia, Great Britain, Irish Free State, Poland, Sweden.
4. Use of white lead in painting :
Austria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Spain, Sweden.
5. Weekly rest (industry) :
Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, India, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Spain.
6. Minimum age for trimmers and stokers :
Denmark, Estonia, India, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Spain.
7. Compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea :
Estonia, India, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Spain.

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